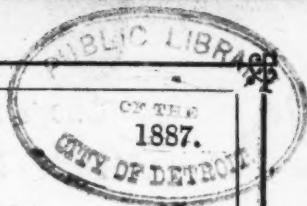


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THE
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OCTOBER, 1887.

ART I.—THE PROGRESS OF FIFTY YEARS.

1. *The Reign of Queen Victoria : A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress.* Edited by THOMAS HUMPHRY WARD, M.A. London. 1887.
2. *Fifty Years of National Progress : 1837-1887.* By MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S. London. 1887.

THERE is an Arabian story to the effect that a certain father wished to find out which of his three sons loved him most. He therefore sent them forth into the world to seek a present that each might think would be most useful to him. The first son found a magical mirror, in which could be seen all that was going on in the world; the second, a carpet which could carry him and his brothers wherever they wanted to go; the third, a medicine which could cure all diseases. In his wonderful glass the first son sees that his father has been seized by a fatal malady; the second transports his brothers on his travelling carpet to the paternal mansion; the third applies the remedy and saves his father's life.

Many morals might be pointed by this homely Eastern tale. Sometimes it is used to illustrate the impossibility of estimating the relative value of the services rendered by the various factors engaged in the production and distribution of wealth, and, of course, it is easy to show that the three kinds of capital employed—money-capital, mind-capital, and labour-capital—are

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B

equivalent, or rather complementary; all are equally necessary, and all co-operate to the same end. But the story is capable of a wider, indeed it admits of almost universal, application. For our present purpose, however, it must suffice to illustrate the uselessness of the comparisons not unfrequently drawn in this Jubilee year between the contributions made respectively by Science, by Legislation, and by Education, religious and secular, during the Victorian era, to the prosperity and progress of the nation. All such comparisons are vain. All classes in the community have co-operated to produce the grand result, and all may equally rejoice. Savants and statesmen, artisans and educators, magistrates and manufacturers, soldiers and sailors, doctors and lawyers, philanthropists and ministers of every kind—all have shared the toil, and all have their reward in the expansion and improvement of the land and realm of which they are so justly proud.

Putting aside these invidious comparisons, it will be more useful to inquire what has been the outcome of this manifold and multiform activity; and, if we are compelled to make a rigorous selection and devote our space to the more material and tabulable results of half a century of life and work, it will not occur to any of our readers that we either over-rate the value of these results or lose sight of still more precious and essential things. As we have never tired of teaching, so we still believe and teach, with all the tenacity and earnestness of ever-deepening conviction, that a man's life, and a nation's life, consisteth not in the abundance of outward and material good; and we have often joined in the solemn interrogation that has never sounded out more clearly than in our own time: What shall it profit a people if it shall gain the whole world and forfeit itself? But we have never shared the belief that England was losing herself while gaining the world. We have rather believed that, on the whole, she has sought first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and that, as a consequence, all these things have been added unto her. At all events, we cherish this patriotic view, and think it would not be impossible to show how most of the marvellous accretions to our wealth and power, in recent times, have flowed directly from a large and general obedience to the

laws of God. Prosperity is only gained by obeying the laws of prosperity ; and the fact that a nation has prospered is a proof that it has kept those laws. The industrial, social, and political virtues must have been in full play to have produced the magnificent results of which we are about to speak, and, but for the corresponding and counteracting vices, the results would have been still more magnificent. It must be so. The appliances to produce these virtues and to check these vices have not been employed to no purpose. The Churches, the Day and Sunday Schools, the Temperance Societies, the Legislative Assemblies with their attendant Executive, the Municipal Councils and Local Boards, the ubiquitous all-powerful Press, have not been in active operation all these years without producing some remarkable improvement in the morals, and, through the morals largely, in the material condition of the people.

But we are falling into common-places, through our anxiety not to be misunderstood. What is meant will now be sufficiently clear. The evidences of material growth and improvement about to be adduced are intended, among other things, to show to those who have been toiling in the various departments of the national life, and who, while simply striving to do their duty in their several spheres, have yet by their integrity, and zeal, and industry, co-operated in building up a great and wealthy nation capable of rendering untold services to the still more backward portions of the human race, that they have not been labouring in vain or spending their strength for nought and in vain. Beneath the primal blessing they have multiplied exceedingly, replenishing the earth with the fruits of their industry, and subduing it with splendid energy and skill. For, as truly as of Israel, may we say of England in these latter days : "Thou hast increased the nation, O Lord, Thou hast increased the nation : Thou art glorified : Thou hast carried it far unto all the ends of the earth."

The area of the empire has been greatly enlarged during her Majesty's reign. In that brief period we have occupied Natal, British Bechuanaland, Basutoland and the Transkei ; British Columbia and the wide North-West Territories of the Canadian Dominion ; and settled Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania.

We have also acquired by cession Labuan, Lagos, the greater portion of the Gold Coast, and Fiji; and, by arrangement, Cyprus, Port Hamilton, and the basin of the Niger, besides many smaller possessions and nearly all the isolated rocks and islands of the seas. Our dominion in India and Burmah has also been largely extended. So that now the British Empire covers about a fifth of the habitable globe. It is one-eighth larger than All the Russias, three times as large as the United States, sixteen times as large as Francé, forty times as large as Germany.

With this vast enlargement of the area—from 2,254,905 to 8,562,920 square miles—the population of the empire has increased to such an extent that the imagination fails to grasp it. The figures we are forced to use can only be described as astronomical. According to the most careful computation, the number of the people directly under our rule has been more than doubled in fifty years, rising from a little over 100 millions in 1837 to considerably more than 200 millions in 1887. The increase in the United Kingdom has been from nearly 27 to 37 millions, or about 44 per cent. In England and Wales the increase has been about 90, and in Scotland about 60 per cent.; but in Ireland, largely owing to the terrible famine of 1846, there has been a decrease from eight millions to five—about 13 per cent. But for a loss through war of 52,000, through cholera of 95,000, through suicide of 77,000, and through emigration of more than nine millions, the increase in these islands would have been 20,525,000, and the present population over 57 millions. In the Colonies and Dependencies, exclusive of India, the increase has been fourfold—from four to sixteen millions—more than half of whom are of British race. The former figure has now been reached by Australasia alone, which fifty years ago numbered only 100,000. Canada and the neighbouring Colonies have risen from 1,250,000 to 5,000,000; and the South African Colonies from 130,000 to 2,000,000. But the largest increase has been in India, where, according to all the evidence, the population has nearly doubled. It is exceedingly difficult to obtain reliable statistics, especially for the earlier period; but, from what appears to be a careful estimate, we gather

that whereas fifty years ago the British rule in that vast congeries of States extended directly over ninety millions of souls and indirectly over forty millions more, it now reaches over 200 millions in British India alone, and fifty-five millions in the native States dependent upon it. Among Eastern countries, India is the only one whose population increases, but she abundantly compensates for their comparative sterility. Out of her teeming womb there issues an annual increase to her swarming millions of not less than one per cent. Every day there is an excess of births over deaths of more than 7,000; every year there is an addition of 2,250,000 to the mouths to be fed and the souls to be saved.*

Before proceeding to consider that concomitant increase in the resources of the empire through the development of our trade and industry which has rendered possible this enormous growth of population, it may be well to glance at one of the more marked improvements in the condition of the people. From lack of available statistics of health and longevity our view is restricted to the United Kingdom. Here, however, thanks to the growing intelligence and sobriety of the people, and to the progress made in surgical and medical science and in sanitary legislation, and in spite of many untoward circumstances, it is most gratifying to find that the death-rate has largely decreased and the general health improved. Statistics for the whole kingdom only date back as far as 1870, but since that time the death-rate has declined ten per cent.—

* Grave indeed and pressing are the problems raised by this unprecedented increase, in a country where there are already more than 170 persons to the square mile; where there is very little fertile land that is not appropriated; where every male is bound by the strongest and most sacred ties of interest and piety to marry at the earliest possible age; where the superstitions of the vast majority will neither allow them to emigrate nor permit to them the use of animal food; where, finally, in consequence of British rule, those three ancient checks on population—famine, pestilence, and war—are losing their destructive power. Sir Henry Maine suggests some mitigating circumstances, such as the habit, fostered by the exportation of grain, of raising surplus produce, which any rise in the Indian demand would soon divert to local markets; the extension of irrigation works, the spread of agricultural knowledge, the multiplication of railways, &c. "But then, unfortunately," he adds, "nobody who has a real appreciation of the problem of population will recognize these mitigating agencies as amounting to more than transitory palliatives."—*The Reign of Queen Victoria*, i. 522.

a decrease equal to a saving of 70,000 lives a year. This is the more remarkable in view of the unfavourable circumstances to which we have referred, such as the massing of the people in towns and cities, and the vast change which is fast turning us from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. In 1837 the rural and urban populations of the United Kingdom were nearly equal; now nearly two-thirds of the people dwell in towns, where the death-rate, if we may judge by the returns from thirty of our principal towns and cities made last year, is about twenty per cent. higher than in the country. The quickened pace of life, moreover, with its terrible wear and tear to organisms that have not yet had time to adjust themselves to the sudden pressure brought to bear upon them, has largely swelled the bills of mortality.* Yet, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the health of the home population has steadily improved, and the average span of life been lengthened out at least three years. Nor is this all. This decrease in the death-rate involves a proportionate improvement in health. Not only have fewer died, but the masses that have lived must have been freer from sickness. And who can estimate the value of this fact even from a merely economic point of view? From the nature of the case, no data are available; otherwise it would be interesting to reckon up the saving in time and in money effected by the recent marked amendment of the general health. In the absence of such statistics we may mention one fact as a help to the imagination:—

“During the period between 1851 and 1880, scarlet fever annually destroyed the lives in England and Wales of an average of 854 persons in every million—a total of 543,000 in the thirty years—mostly among young people with prospects of life and usefulness before them. Each death would mean twelve illnesses, many of them with injurious consequences of life-long duration, each illness costing a pound—an estimate which

* “Comparing the returns for 1871–80 with those for 1851–60, we find an increase in deaths from heart-disease in England and Wales of 539 per million yearly; deaths from cancer have risen in twenty years from 315 per million a year to 470; apoplexy from 451 to 540; paralysis from 452 to 515. Insanity and suicide have also largely increased. The principal improvement has been in the reduction of the following causes of death: Consumption, from 2,730 per million annually in 1851–60 to 2,205 in 1871–80; pneumonia, from 1,265 to 1,025; scarlatina, from 996 to 805; fever, from 945 to 410; dropsy, from 501 to 187.”—*Mulhall.*

roughly sets the pecuniary loss inflicted upon the nation by scarlet fever in thirty years at over six millions sterling, without considering the anxiety and suffering of parents and relatives."—Dr. Brudenell Carter. *The Reign of Queen Victoria*," vol. ii. p. 405.

Still limiting our view to the home population, we may proceed to consider some other elements in their material well-being. The United Kingdom, as a whole, has become much healthier: has it become wealthier? The true answer is, much wealthier, and, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, the wealth is much more widely diffused. A calculation made by Mr. Giffen, into the details of which we cannot enter, shows that the capital or property of the country has increased from a little over 4,000 millions sterling in 1837 to 9,450 millions in 1887—or from about £150 to about £256 per head; and this notwithstanding the fact that during the same period eighty millions of the National Debt has been paid off, and that imperial taxation has risen from sixty to ninety millions per annum, and local expenditure from thirty to sixty millions. Besides this, the value of land has decreased 430 millions since 1870, so that if we deduct the 320 millions by which it increased between 1837 and 1870, we have a net depreciation in value of 110 millions. Yet, in spite of all this, the public fortune has more than doubled in fifty years. Following Mr. Mulhall for the moment, we may note the increase in a few of the items in this national wealth. The figures are for 1840 and 1887 respectively, and are given in millions. Between these two years our railways increased in value from 21 to 831 millions; houses and furniture, from 1,155 to 3,960; and sundries, from 710 to 1,869. Among these sundries the principal items are colonial loans and railways, which now amount to 430 millions; Australian mortgages, 330; and foreign loans, railways, &c., 814 millions. Nearly the whole of the capital employed abroad has been invested during this reign, and, according to Mr. Giffen, brings what may be called new wealth into the country in the shape of interest to the amount of forty or fifty millions a year. The annual income from all sources is now set down at 1,260 millions, as against 540 millions in 1840; and the ordinary accretion to the national wealth is now about

150 millions a year, or half a million a day. During the last fifty years, whilst the population has increased only 44 per cent., income and wealth have increased more than 100 per cent., and income and wealth per head about 70 per cent.

In no part of the kingdom has this growth in wealth been more remarkable than in Ireland. Nothing could be more erroneous than the popular impression that for five decades and more material prosperity has been unknown in that distracted land. Much of the evidence looks the other way. The Irishman who said, when the hope and pride of the household was about to be sold, "My pig doesn't weigh as much as I expected—I always thought it wouldn't," only expressed in a characteristically puzzle-headed way the pseudo-surprise that many of his fellow-countrymen would feel if told that the Irish stock-taking during the Jubilee year had not turned out so badly as was expected. They would probably declare they always thought it would not. Fairly informed Irishmen, at all events, must know that, though the population has decreased, the wealth of the country has largely increased. The revenue has risen from £4,414,433 in 1850 to £7,770,626 in 1884—an increase of 76 per cent. in thirty-four years; the deposits and private balances in Irish joint-stock banks rose from 10 millions in 1852 to 29 millions in 1885—an increase of 172 per cent.; since 1849, 25 millions have been invested in Irish railways, 20 millions of which, at least, are held by Irish shareholders; and, lastly, in the old popular savings banks and the new ones opened by the Post Office there were in 1884 no fewer than 177,628 depositors, with an average balance of £24 10s., as against 49,554 in 1851, with an average balance of £27 3s.—an increase in thirty-three years of 258 per cent. in the number of depositors, and of 222 per cent. in the aggregate amount deposited. More remarkable still, as an indication of the growth in the material prosperity of the sister island, is the improvement in the dwellings of the people. The Census Commissioners of 1841 divided these dwellings into four classes: (1) one-roomed mud-cabins; (2) mud-cabins with two to four rooms and windows; (3) ordinary good farm-houses, having five to nine rooms and windows; and (4) houses

of a still better description. Between 1841 and 1881 the number of the first-named class had decreased from 491,278 to 40,665 ; class 2 had decreased from 533,297 to 384,475 ; class 3 had increased from 264,184 to 422,241 ; and class 4 from 40,080 to 66,727. Nothing could be more eloquent and heartening than these returns. It really seems, to cite the sober words of Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, to whom we are indebted for the preceding particulars, that, "spite of misfortunes and spite of agitation, the progress of Ireland has been great, and the elements of future progress are there. . . . Nothing is necessary but the restoration of confidence."*

With regard to the distribution of wealth in the United Kingdom there can be no doubt that all classes have benefited by the enormous increase in the resources of the community. The number of income-tax payers has steadily increased. The income of capitalists has become more and more diffused, so that on the average each capitalist is only 15 per cent. richer than he was forty years ago, whereas the average wages of the working classes have risen 50 or 60 per cent. in the half-century, without any appreciable rise in the total cost of living or in the average time lost through scarcity of work. With a constantly increasing population there is an absolute decrease of pauperism. The earlier and the latest figures are as follows : In 1849 there were in England 934,000 paupers ; in Ireland, 620,000 ; and in Scotland the number in 1859 was 122,000. The numbers returned in January this year were : England, 822,215 ; Ireland, 113,241 ; Scotland, 99,734. The total for the whole kingdom at the earlier periods was 1,676,000 : now it is only 1,035,190. Alongside this gratifying decrease in pauperism should be placed the equally gratifying and remarkable increase in the savings of our not too thrifty people. What proportion of these savings has been invested in house property it would be difficult to say, but that there has been a wonderful improvement in the dwellings of the people is not less patent in England and in Scotland than in Ireland. The annual value of houses above £10

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. i. p. 588-9.

rental in Great Britain was only about $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1837; now it is over 57 millions. The facts with regard to savings banks, building and provident societies, &c., are so well known that only the delight in dwelling upon these most hopeful signs of the times can justify us in recording them once more. Depositors in the savings banks of the United Kingdom have increased from 430,000 in 1831 to 5,200,000, and deposits from 14 to 98 millions. According to the latest returns, there are more than 50 millions in the funds of the building societies of England and Wales, and more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions of share capital in the co-operative societies of Great Britain. These latter societies have done a business of 360 millions in five-and-twenty years, and have effected a saving to the working classes in that time of nearly £30,000,000. The leading trades unions, which also have sprung up during the reign, are benefit as well as trade-protection societies. "They maintain their own poor, succour and sustain their sick, bury their dead, keep their aged and infirm members, and give a lump sum, in most cases, of £100 in cases of total disablement." Some idea of the extent of their funds may be formed from the fact that in 1886 one of these unions, the Engineers', after making payments to the amount of £155,644, had still a reserve balance of £112,487. The friendly and provident societies, properly so-called, could furnish similar evidences of prosperity. Suffice to say that, between 1840 and 1886, while savings banks deposits in the whole kingdom increased from 25 to 98 millions, the funds of all the societies named above swelled from 5 to 62 millions; so that in less than 50 years there has been a total increase in the savings and investments of the people of no less than 130 millions, and all the while the scale of living has been rising at an even greater rate. More kinds of commodities and more of each kind formerly consumed have come into general use. Food, clothing, houses, endless comforts and conveniences are now possessed and used by the great masses of the community to an extent that would have seemed impossible so recently as forty years ago. Even the "residuum" is not increasing in bulk, and its condition, shocking as it is happily becoming to the general taste and conscience, is better

and not worse. Absolutely the mass of poverty and misery is still large, too large for any wise and wealthy nation to endure till every legitimate means has been exhausted to lessen and remove it; but relatively it is smaller than it was—much smaller, and our means of grappling with it have enormously increased. The nation is "certainly not staggering under the nightmare of its residuum" as it was staggering under the load of pauperism and its connected evils fifty years ago. The evil is still great, but it is in every way more manageable. The vices out of which it largely springs are peculiarly inveterate, but they are not ineradicable. There is a remedy for a bad heart, whatever Mr. Morison may say—a remedy that at last is reaching the residuum. The Gospel of the grace of God has not yet spent its force, nor has it fairly tried its force upon the festering vice and misery of the towns and cities of the land. So far from its being either dead or dying, as we are so often told, it never was so full of life and energy as now. It is not dead, but living—living in the hearts of millions to whom its helps and hopes are so intensely real that, for its diffusion, they willingly contribute, out of their abundance and out of their penury alike, a hundredfold more than was ever given in any former age. And, what is better and more hopeful still, that Gospel is living in the manifold and blessed activities of those who are nobly labouring to restore pure homes and sober habits to the lapsed and fallen, and who number to-day a thousand for every one engaged in such a blessed work and warfare half a century ago. This, however, by the way.

One of the main sources of this national wealth is our foreign trade, and the difference between that trade in 1837 and in 1887 is the difference between the trade of a small State and that of a great Empire. Then, our imports amounted to 66 millions, now they are valued at 374 millions; then the exports were 58 millions, now they amount to 271 millions. The increase in the foreign trade of India and the colonies has been equally astounding. At the former date their total import and export trade was worth about 55 millions; now it is valued at 408 millions. About 48 per cent. of this trade is carried on with the United Kingdom. Over

half their exports—some 107 millions—come to this country, and about 88 millions worth of their imports are sent by us. Another 90 millions worth of trade is transacted with other parts of our possessions; so that 285 millions, or nearly 70 per cent. of their trade, is carried on within the dominions of the Queen. In 1884, the foreign trade of the United Kingdom was 686 millions, of which that with the British possessions amounted to 184 millions. The entire export and import trade of the empire amounts to 1,089 millions a year. and of that trade 469 millions, or 42 per cent., is the value of the trade within its boundaries. Nor does even this comparison fully represent the stupendous increase in our foreign trade. Since 1850 there has been a great and general fall in prices. Had prices remained at the level of 1841-50, our foreign trade would now be worth 804 millions instead of 686 millions, and the increase of the foreign trade of the empire would have been, not from 180 millions to 1,080 millions, but to a much larger extent.

Side by side with this expansion of external trade there has been a corresponding development of the internal trade and industry of almost every part of the empire. Statistics, even for these islands, are of course impossible; but a brief survey of some of the principal branches of our industry will show that, with one marked and lamentable exception, the progress in them has been continuous and enormous. Taking first what are called instrumental articles—articles, *i.e.*, which depend for their consumption on the prosperity of other industries—we find that the output of coal has risen from an estimated total of 40 million tons in 1837 to a total of 160 millions at the present time, and that this fourfold increase has been far surpassed by its companion commodity. Fifty years ago the production of iron was estimated at a little more than a million tons; now it averages about eight millions a year. Of the former of these articles, it is satisfactory to know that great economy in its use has been effected by improved methods and machinery, the same quantity of coal being now used to smelt five tons of iron, for example, as was formerly required for three. It is equally reassuring to learn from the Parliamentary Report of 1874, that we have still some

90,000 million tons of coal untouched—enough, it seems, to serve us for another 600 years at the present rate. Between 1838 and 1886 the output fell five million tons—largely owing, it is said, to the increasing use of petroleum and electricity. With respect to iron, Sir Lowthian Bell furnishes a number of calculations, more curious perhaps than valuable, from which we gather that “the iron made in Great Britain every year would form a cube 351 feet on a side, while that of the world at large would be contained in a cube of 472½ feet.” In 1884 the annual consumption of iron in Europe varied in different nations from 23 lb. to 287·53 lb. per head, the latter being that of the United Kingdom. The United States consumed 270·92 lb. per head; our Colonies 121·40 lb.; British India, 2·40 lb.; all the rest of Asia only ·49 lb. The average for the world was 32·33 lb. per head. Sir Lowthian makes some interesting statements as to the value imparted by labour to iron and steel, on which we must only pause to note that, while a ton of pig-iron, costing, say, 40s. when turned into railway chairs, would be worth only 55s., the same iron if converted into needles for home use would sell for £5,600; if into fish-hooks, for £15,000; and if into hair-springs for watches, for about £400,000—above three times the value of gold. But then it requires nearly 40 million hair-springs to weigh a ton.

Our chief textile industries have the same tale of progress to tell. The manufacture of linen and of silk has declined, the former slightly, and the latter greatly; but the jute manufacture, an entirely new industry since 1837, has flourished exceedingly, the yearly consumption of raw material having risen to no less than 500 million pounds. The great staple trades of Yorkshire and of Lancashire report increases still more enormous. The quantity of home-grown wool has decreased, it is true, from 157 million pounds in 1845 to 120 millions; but this has been amply compensated by a practically unlimited supply of a more suitable material from our colonies, the imports from Australia having advanced in five-and-thirty years from forty to four hundred million pounds. The consumption of cotton in the mills of Lancashire has risen from 400,000,000 pounds in 1837 to 1,451,200,000

pounds in 1887. Of the minor and miscellaneous manufactures there are two, the progress of which will, by most people, be regarded with very different feelings. Not many will find satisfaction in the fact that, after all the efforts to lessen them, the manufacture and consumption of beer and spirits have greatly increased. Nevertheless, the truth may be told that, whereas only 646 millions of gallons of beer were brewed in 1840, no less than 991 millions were brewed in 1885, and that the consumption had risen during the same period from 24 to 27 gallons per head. The increased use of spirits is still more to be deplored. The number of gallons distilled has risen from 16·5 millions in 1840 to 30·1 millions in 1885, and the consumption per hundred inhabitants from 84 to 97 gallons. It is slightly reassuring to learn that the consumption of both beer and spirits has declined during the last decade—in the former three gallons per head, and in the latter 23 gallons per hundred, of the population. Paper was the other article we had in view; and here the increase will be gratifying to all. The present production is about 200,000 tons per annum, and is valued at eight millions sterling. In 1840 only six million pounds were consumed by the Press, and 29 millions in other ways; the corresponding figures for 1885 were 214 and 218 millions of pounds. Much of this increase is at once a proof and a cause and a consequence of the growing intelligence of the people, and, together with the progress of popular education, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Who can estimate the extent of the change suggested by the fact that “the newspaper circulation, which averaged 800,000 copies weekly at the time of the Queen’s accession, rose to 10½ millions in 1864, and is now 32 millions? Cheap editions of the best English authors,” Mr. Mulhall hyperbolically adds, “have also found their way into every cottage in the three kingdoms.”

The one conspicuous and ominous exception to this marvellous advance is the recent decline in agriculture, once the chief and, at the beginning of the period under review, one of the most important of our home industries. For half the period—say from 1851 to 1876—our landed interests were promoted greatly by the general prosperity of the people, and by

the consequent growth in the consumption of farm produce, the capital value of the land and of the stock and crops upon it increasing in a quarter of a century by 445 millions sterling. Much of this increase, and much of the farmers' capital, has since been lost in consequence of foreign competition following upon an unprecedented series of bad seasons and enormous losses of live stock by disease. "The subsequent collapse of prices," says Sir James Caird, "which took place in 1885, falling as it did upon an agricultural class already impoverished, has completely disheartened both landlords and tenants, and has seriously crippled their power to give employment to their labourers. Its effects are at the same time felt among the tradesmen in the country villages and towns." The cry of "wolf" is not unheard in the rural districts, even in the most prosperous times; but now the wolf is at the door indeed. With rising rents and wages, and with falling markets and disastrous seasons, the tenant farmers especially have been reduced to great straits. Making every allowance for mitigating circumstances, such as the recent general remission of rent, the cheapness of most of the commodities used by the farmer, the rapid change from unremunerative to comparatively remunerative products, &c., it must be admitted that British agriculture is now passing through the severest trial to which it has yet been exposed. As to the future, Sir James Caird is well entitled to offer an opinion. According to this eminent authority, the change which in the last twenty years has added three million acres—nearly one-seventh of the land under rotation—to the permanent pasture is

"likely to go on, as only the better class of lands can compete successfully with the products of rich and unexhausted soils now brought so cheaply to our shores. We have still an advantage over these in the cost of transport, which is equal to the rent here. And to that extent British agriculture on the good land should be able to hold its own. But the poor clay soils, which are expensive to cultivate and small in yield, and the poorer soils of every kind, will be gradually laid to grass, or be planted for timber. The climate is admirably adapted for grazing. If our manufactures and mines continue to maintain a successful competition with other countries, and if our population, increasing at the rate of a thousand a day, besides sending largely to our colonies, can find adequate employment at home, there will still be a remunerative market for that descrip-

tion of agricultural produce which can least bear the risk and cost of carriage from distant countries." *

Before inquiring, in conclusion, whether this gleam of hope is warranted by the prospects of our other industries, and by way of completing our survey of the material progress of the empire during this illustrious and gracious reign, a few words must be devoted to the mechanical appliances which have made this wonderful expansion and extension possible. In one of his earliest essays, written in 1829, Carlyle discerned some of the "Signs of the Times" clearly enough when he wrote:—

"Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, or Moral Age; but above all others the Mechanical Age. It is the age of machinery in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which with its whole undivided might forwards, teaches and practises the great art of adapting means to ends. Nothing is now done directly or by hand, all is rule and calculated contrivance. . . . Nothing can resist us. We war with rude Nature, and, by our resistless engines, come off always victorious and loaded with spoils."

Machinery, that modern Midas which turns everything to gold, was at that time coming into play in all directions; but since then, what an extension! What an extension did the Chelsea seer himself behold! Machinery for purposes of locomotion and communication and manufacture, and instruction and defence! The old man did not rejoice as much as he might have done in this world-wide extension of the "Mechanics," nor did he take sufficient note of the "Dynamics," as he calls them, "of man's fortunes and nature." The work of the Christian philanthropists and statesmen of the time were largely hidden from his eyes; and as for our railway kings and captains of industry, all the world knows what he thought of them. The world, however, does not share his thought, and in the general Jubilee just past, the marvels wrought by mechanism have been more duly prized and praised. Men now see, what apparently Carlyle failed to see, that

"This is an art
Which doth mend Nature—change it rather; but
The art itself is Nature."

* *Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 152.

As Professor Huxley in his valuable dissertation on the Science of the Reign remarks :

"The operation of that part of Nature we call human upon the rest began to create, not 'new natures' in Bacon's sense, but a new Nature, the existence of which is dependent upon men's efforts, which is subservient to their wants, and which would disappear if man's shaping and guiding hands were withdrawn. . . . During the last fifty years, this new birth of time, this new Nature begotten by Science upon fact, has pressed itself daily and hourly upon our attention, and has worked miracles which have modified the whole fashion of our lives.*

Figures fatiguing to the imagination could hardly add impressiveness to the facts that, whereas railways are now almost everywhere, fifty years ago they had only just started on their revolutionary career; that their speed had reached what it is to be hoped is its maximum; and that this mode of travelling is now so safe that "from a comparison between the number of accidents and the average train mileage it may be deduced that a man, in order to secure his death, must begin to travel as soon as he is born and proceed day and night at the rate of twenty miles an hour for 466 years." For those who are fond of figures, however (and they are surely all who have followed us thus far), we may add that the railways in the United Kingdom alone have recently transported in one year nearly 700 million human beings, and of minerals and merchandise, 257 million tons. The marine steam-engine had a considerable start of the locomotive, but it was not until 1837 that Ericsson attained the speed of ten miles an hour, enabling the *Great Western* to perform the extraordinary feat of making the passage between Bristol and New York in eighteen days. The voyage to New York is now performed in six days, and steamers are plying between Liverpool and Douglas at a speed equivalent to crossing the Atlantic in five. During the reign the tonnage of British steamships has risen from less than 100,000 to about 4,000,000 tons. Transport is now so cheap, and safe, and rapid, that a ton of tea can be sent from China to London at the cost of a ton of goods from Manchester to the Metropolis fifty years ago, and in much less than half the time

Reign of Queen Victoria, vol ii. p. 329.

it then took ; and communication has been so quickened that, as Mr. Slagg informs us, "the custom of keeping large stocks of goods in the warehouses of Manchester or in the 'godowns' of India, involving rent, insurance, and loss of interest, is being abolished, and sales are often made in Calcutta or Bombay of goods which have yet to be manufactured in Lancashire." Communication, indeed, has become so rapid as to be practically instantaneous wherever the telegraph is laid ; and, if we may judge from the fact that at the present moment a conversation may be carried on between New York and Chicago—a distance of about 1,000 miles—it bids fair to become vocal as well as instantaneous. We do not despair of seeing some daring and far-sighted Government adding slightly to the revenue, finding employment for scores of thousands of persons, winning for itself no small amount of popularity, and conferring inestimable benefits upon the community, by giving a penny telegram to the people. Meanwhile, those who wish to communicate cheaply with each other in this country must go on writing their hundred and seventy millions of postcards and twice that number of letters a year. For purposes of comparison, it may be stated that the number of letters delivered in 1837 was about eighty millions ; and, for the gratification of the curious, it may be added that between 1840 and 1884 no fewer than 31,300,000,000 stamps were issued. Of the endless appliances and contrivances that science has given to industry, enabling it to weave and spin, and smelt and plough, and reap and carry on its countless processes with a precision, a rapidity, a productiveness undreamt of by our grandfathers, we cannot now speak : it requires an exhibition to set them forth. It must suffice to say that, so marvellous has been the increase in our mechanical power by means of railways, steamships, and machinery of all other kinds, that, as Mr. Mulhall puts it, "the effective energy or working-power of the United Kingdom is now almost 50,000 million foot-tons daily, having quadrupled since 1840"—a power, Lord Brassey estimates, "at least equal to the labour of a thousand million men." The mechanical power of the whole empire must be stupendous ; and, when this is taken into account, along with the other forces of a less

material kind on which we have not chosen to dwell, we cannot wonder, after all, at the prodigious prosperity we have so imperfectly described.

Is this prosperity likely to continue? If it be true that "nothing succeeds like success," we might conclude offhand that it *is* likely, unless the conditions of success are likely to disappear. But the question is too important to be answered offhand, and the interests involved are too precious to mankind to be lightly treated. Current comments on our coming decadence, moreover, call for something more than a general and summary reply. As for the Colonies, there can be no reasonable doubt: indeed their condition, resources, and prospects warrant the most sanguine expectations. With respect to India, and even to Ireland, while there is room for doubt, there is none whatever for despair. The most pessimistic prophet would not deny to India "the promise and the potency" of immense material progress; and as for Ireland, the potency is in her, if not the promise of immediate advance. The United Kingdom, taken as a whole, was never yet so full of youthful energy or capable of such strenuous and skilful toil. No passage in Mr. Cotter Morison's recent book has met with more derision than that in which he seems to leave no alternative to Englishmen but suicide or emigration, and predicts that

"before the end of the century we shall know what a general or commercial catastrophe really means, when the famishing unemployed will not be counted by thousands but by millions; when a page of the *Times* will suffice for the business advertisements of London; and when the richest will be glad to live on the little capital they have left, without thinking of interest."

Englishmen repudiate and ridicule these counsels of despair. They are not ignorant of the stupendous obstacles in the way of their material advancement; but, like their fathers, they approach them with the ancient inbred energy and resolution of the race. They believe, and not without the best of grounds, that if they wisely use the means at their command, their progress in the future will be even more rapid than in the past. They refuse, as they have refused all through this century, to be frightened by the bugbear of foreign competition; though

happily they are awaking to the necessity of improved commercial and technical education, and they are preparing still more earnestly to prosecute the peaceful war which, more than ever, they are quite aware they have now to wage in all the thoroughfares and markets of the world. They see, through Mr. Giffen's eyes, that "England, as a manufacturing country *par excellence*, can only gain by the increased purchasing power of other nations, and by the creation among them of innumerable wants;" and they feel sure, with him, that "no amount of foreign competition can really hurt an industrious and vigorous community." "The real estate of the English people," to let Mr. Giffen speak the final word, "consists now in their superior industrial quality, in their skill and enterprise, in their acquired capital, in their established system of credit, in their huge investments abroad, which insure them, as compared with foreign nations, the free possession of much food and raw material to start with. With such an estate, and no doubt also with coal and iron as yet in ample profusion, there seems no reason why the English race should not advance steadily for many years to come. It will be their own fault if they fold their hands and permit themselves to fall behind."

ART. II.—THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

1. *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians: with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: Longmans. 1887.
2. *Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By F. GODET, Doctor of Theology, &c. Two Vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.
3. *A Commentary on the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians.* By the late Rev. W. KAY, D.D. London: Macmillan. 1887.

4. *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By T. C. EDWARDS, M.A., Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Second Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

THE intelligent study of the books of the Bible as separate compositions has made rapid advance of late years. The study of "texts" for homiletical purposes is quite a different matter. Readers of this kind are unable to see the wood for the trees. Different again was that treatment of the Scriptures which prevailed in the Puritan period, when "painful" preachers of undoubted godliness and ability overlaid the words of Scripture with their own laboured lucubrations, bringing to the consideration of almost every verse a complex theology, which they considered themselves bound to find in full or in embryo in every part of the Bible. Not only has a critical and accurate method of study banished these mistaken methods, but a more just conception of the several compositions, which together make up our sacred Scriptures, has led to a study of each as an individual whole. As a consequence, on the one hand, the true meaning of those fragments which it is the custom of preachers to fix upon as texts for discourses is more thoroughly understood, and, on the other, the relation of these separate writings to that great whole which is at the same time One Book, and, as Jerome called it, "a Divine Library," is more accurately appreciated. Archdeacon Farrar's *Messages of the Books*—one of the most useful of the many productions of the writer's prolific pen—gives prominence to the importance of this kind of study of Scripture. Within the compass of a few pages Dr. Farrar rapidly, eloquently and comprehensively characterizes each several book of Scripture in such wise that every reader of Scripture is enabled to gain a bird's-eye view of the whole country he would survey before beginning a minute examination of its several parts. The advantages of such a preliminary view are too numerous and obvious to need detailed mention.

We are not about to attempt to imitate Dr. Farrar. The combination of detailed knowledge with the power of picturesque presentation which Archdeacon Farrar possesses would make

it dangerous for any one to follow in his wake. But none the less we are anxious to contribute, in however small a degree, to the kind of Scripture study just indicated, partly in order to show how fruitful a field remains for scholars to labour in who wish to make popular a sound and accurate study of Scripture, and partly to show how much more interesting and useful sermons might be made if preachers would give a little more time to the survey of a whole picture, and a little less to minute photographs of subordinate details. To this end we select one of St. Paul's Epistles, which happens very lately to have drawn the special attention of successive commentators—the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The law which governs the production of commentaries is mysterious. For whole generations certain books of the Bible seem to have claimed scant consideration at the hands of students, when, apparently without assignable reason, within the space of a year or two, half-a-dozen commentaries of weight and importance upon a single one of these will appear. Probably the same causes are at work underneath the surface of opinion, operating upon many minds and causing them simultaneously to see the bearing of a certain portion of Scripture truth upon the needs and problems of the times.

Five or six years ago there was no commentary in English of any importance on this Epistle, except that of the late Dean Stanley. Graphic and interesting as Stanley's writing always was, and vividly as he portrayed the state of the Church at Corinth and the outline of St. Paul's thoughts and exhortations, there was an amount of looseness and inaccuracy about his work which made it unsatisfactory as a sole guide. Translations from the German of Olshausen, Billroth, and Kling, did not mend matters much, though the first of these writers has merits of his own which we would not be understood to depreciate. Then came the Meyer series, enabling English readers to have the guidance of the sound and accurate scholarship of that able expositor, and the light which such scholarship must always shed on historical, doctrinal, and ecclesiastical questions. Still the student of our Epistle was but scantily furnished with helps as compared with the abundant supply afforded for most other parts of Scripture. Some

six years ago, however, appeared Canon Evans' vigorous and original notes on this Epistle in the *Speaker's Commentary*, distinguished not more for the complete mastery of Greek displayed in them than for the racy English in which they were written. Then followed Mr. Beet's careful and lucid commentary, written for English readers, but always based on study of the Greek, and showing independent thought and judgment throughout. Perhaps the fullest and ablest exposition, however, of the First Epistle to the Corinthians which has appeared is that of Principal Edwards, mentioned at the head of our article, the first edition of which was published two years ago. It is marked by thorough Greek scholarship, and the writer pursues throughout an admirable method of investigation into the precise meaning of words, roots, tenses, and prepositions; but he never allows himself to be diverted from his main purpose by attention to a multiplicity of details, and his judgment upon the many knotty questions of doctrine and interpretation which this Epistle presents is remarkably clear, sound, and well-balanced. Professor Godet's excellence as an exegete is well-known, and a translation of his Commentary on First Corinthians has been published by Messrs. Clark in the course of the last twelve months. The spiritual insight which Godet constantly displays gives a distinct value to his writings, and assigns to any work of his a place of its own beyond the reach of competition. The third work to which we refer above is a collection of notes of Greek Testament readings, delivered to a small friendly gathering of clergymen by the late Dr. Kay, and published posthumously. These notes are scanty and incomplete, but always thoughtful and often very suggestive. Last in order of appearance, but by no means least in importance, is the latest contribution of a veteran in New Testament study—Bishop Ellicott. Thirty years ago Dr. Ellicott set the example for English students at Cambridge and elsewhere of a careful and almost microscopically minute examination of the very words of New Testament writings. His commentaries upon certain Epistles of St. Paul, appearing at intervals, have been valued text-books and guides for a whole generation of ministers and students. Now, after long

delay and many postponements, the largest and most important of this series is presented to the public, the method and style of earlier volumes being carefully preserved. The great excellence, and, at the same time, the inevitable deficiencies of Bishop Ellicott's plan and style are now well known. In his own words, he strives "to ascertain as far as possible, by means of a close and persistent consideration of the grammatical form and logical connection of the language of the original, what the inspired writer exactly desired to convey to the Church of Corinth and to all readers of this profoundly interesting Epistle." This is of course the first requisite of the sound expositor, and nothing can ever displace it, or to any extent make up for its absence. But the publication of Bishop Lightfoot's commentaries has shown how possible it is to combine with the minute accuracy of the trained scholar the wider outlook of the historian, and something at least of the historical imagination which is necessary for true insight into the meaning of the Apostle's words in relation to the Apostle's times. In these latter elements Dr. Ellicott has always been lacking, and the excessive attention which he pays to the older versions and early Greek commentators does not help to remedy this defect. None the less in his own ground he remains admirable, exhaustive, sometimes unapproached, and those who owe very much to a persevering pursuit of the method which Ellicott more than any one else has pressed upon English students, will be chary of dwelling upon the inseparable defects of such valuable exegetical qualities as the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol has illustrated afresh in his latest work. We have not even yet enumerated all the helps which the English student of the Epistle in question has within his reach. If we were aiming at completeness, we could not pass by the volumes in the Cambridge Bible for schools and similar series which admirably fill a place of their own. But enough has been said to characterize the chief commentaries upon our Epistle that have lately appeared, and we turn from these to the book itself.

This Epistle has a marked character of its own, and one which gives it a special interest in our own day. If the Epistle to the Romans be the Epistle of Justification, most

logical of all and most complete as a treatise; if the Epistle to the Galatians be the most masterly piece of dialectic and the most vehement of St. Paul's controversial writings; if the Epistle to the Ephesians be styled the Epistle of the Church, and if the mystical union with Christ, which is the privilege of believers, individually and unitedly, be set forth in it with a richness and fulness elsewhere unmatched; if the Epistle to the Philippians be considered the most personal, most tender, most joyous of all; and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, perhaps equally personal in certain parts of it, be esteemed rather the Epistle of consolation in Christ under tribulation; the First Epistle, with which we are now concerned, "the longest, and in some respects the most magnificent," of St. Paul's letters to the Churches, must be styled *par excellence* the Epistle of Christian casuistry. The phrase may perhaps be considered anything but a happy one, when the ordinary associations of the word "casuistry" are thought of. But we use the word in its just acceptation, to mean the application of the principles of Christianity to the details of life in the midst of a highly organized and complex civilization, the training of the Christian conscience in that practical application of sublime Christian doctrine and lofty spiritual precepts which preachers enjoin, as if it were easy and matter of course, but which most Christians find so very hard. Few themes furnish so much at once of practical and of speculative interest as that which forms the substance of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The unity of the Epistle is no less remarkable than the variety of its contents. The number of topics touched upon is far greater than is presented by any other Epistle, yet the great central links of connection are never lost sight of, and the writer never allows his readers to forget the One central Object of faith, or that bond of loving fellowship with Him which should alike unite all individuals in the Church together, and make one whole of the different and indefinitely varied parts of their several lives. From a merely literary point of view—if it be possible even for a time so to regard part of inspired Scripture—the way in which the unity of subject is maintained in this Epistle amidst the multiplicity of details is nothing less than masterly. A brief glance at the circum-

stances of the Church at Corinth when this letter was addressed to it will show why there is so much in it of importance to readers at the present day.

Corinth in A.D. 52 was not the Corinth of the Peloponnesian War or of the Achæan League. The "last glory of the Martinmas summer of Greece" had faded away. The city 'twixt two seas, of which Horace had sung, had perished in the flames after the great victory gained by Mummius B.C. 146, and after the lapse of the century a new Corinth had arisen in its place. Just as the melting of the mass of gold and silver and bronze in the conflagration of the city had formed an amalgam known as "Corinthian brass," so the débris of earlier civilizations, blended with the new or Roman Corinth, gave rise to a state of society which requires to be analyzed before its real character can be rightly understood. We have not room to pursue such analysis in detail. It must, however, be remembered that the Gentile element preponderated in the community from which the Church at Corinth was chiefly formed, and that it consisted of a mixed population, living amid a composite and corrupt civilization, characterized by some of the culture and all the evils of Rome and Greece in their better days. The whole life was degenerate. In political life there was neither the energy of true freedom nor the substitute for it provided by an efficient and beneficent despotism. In social life there was visible the corruption which nearly always springs from the mixture of races, for it is a sadly established fact that such intermixture results in the mutual infection with strange vices rather than the communication of new and unwonted virtues. In the intellectual life of the people the reality of philosophy, as it flourished under Plato and Aristotle, had given way to a show of wisdom and unintelligent, second-hand use of philosophical phrases, such as satisfied the nimble but shallow mind of the Greek of the day. Religion there was none; the superstitions that went by the name were despised by the very people who, in moments of weakness and terror, showed that they could not wholly emancipate themselves from their power. There was, however, one form of "religious" observance, the very nature of which speaks for itself. More than a thousand courtesans were attached to the

temple of Aphrodite at Corinth, and the worship of the "Goddess of Lubricity," which has been described as characteristic of one of the Southern nations of Europe to-day, flourished in Greece 1800 years ago without the few restraints of decency and public order which at present check its outward manifestations even in such countries as France and Italy. "The beauty that was Greece, the glory that was Rome," will not bear very close examination by any one with a conscience; nor could we prescribe a better antidote to the poisonous moral teaching poured forth by many of our modern Hellenes than a plain and unvarnished picture of what "Hellenism" really meant before "Hebraism" came to purify it. But in the interests of common decency such a picture could be shown to but few, and the remedy in many cases might be worse than the disease.

In such a city, containing at that time certainly more than 100,000 inhabitants, St. Paul had planted a Christian Church. The account of the founding of this Church is given in Acts xviii. 1-17; a brief narrative, suggesting much more than it actually states, and requiring to be supplemented by hints drawn from the Epistle itself. It is clear, however, that Paul's preaching at Corinth differed from the style adopted by him on the only previous occasion when—at Athens—he had had the opportunity of addressing a cultured Greek audience. Proclaiming only the doctrine of the Cross, and that in the plainest and simplest style (1 Cor. ii.), he had found his way to the hearts of many of the humbler classes in Corinth, in all probability chiefly slaves and artisans, and had gathered them together in a Christian Church. During the eighteen months of his stay the Church apparently attained a considerable size (Acts xviii. 10, 11), though still it was not the "wise after the flesh," not the mighty, nor the well-born, who were ready to receive the high calling of the lowly Lord. But a goodly company of those who were both wise and noble in the sight of Him who sees not as man sees, were gathered together in a humble room of that luxurious and sinful city, "sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," joining, in common with a wider company of saints elsewhere, to acknowledge the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, "their Lord and ours." How precious to

the heart of the Apostle was this band of faithful ones, sheaves gathered in with toil and care, since the time when the tiny Church consisted only of the household of Stephanas, "first-fruits of Achaia," we may faintly imagine.

But we can hardly imagine his bitter sorrow at the news which reached him towards the end of his stay in Ephesus, but a very few years later, of the temptations and troubles which disturbed and threatened to ruin "God's husbandry, God's building." The story is told at length in the letter which was written to help, rebuke and guide the Corinthian Christians. Dissension and strife had appeared among them; the body of Christ was being rent by party spirit. The impurity which before had tainted the outward lives of most of these men proved not to have been altogether banished from their hearts; they had slipped back into mire from which they ought to have altogether emerged, or were quite willing to tolerate the society of such as surpassed the heathen themselves in scandalous license of home life. Vanity, such as the Greek was always prone to exhibit, was flourishing on Christian almost as on Pagan soil,* and men and women, proud of "gifts" which they exhibited as if they were remarkable possessions of their own, boasting instead of humbly thanking the Giver, that they were "enriched in utterance and in all knowledge," were turning the very means of grace into a source of temptation and sin. They were, moreover, full of questions. Like men who would much rather talk about religion than practise it, skilled in debate and fond of discussion; anxious, moreover, some of them, to get as near to the world as possible and enjoy as much of the amusements it lavishly provided then as now, they had propounded to St. Paul questions enough to puzzle the wisest human teacher on a number of topics connected with their daily life. In eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, might a Christian do this or that, how far might he go in that pleasant but perilous direction, and to what extent was such another course of action blamable?—questions like these were poured forth in sufficient number to show that these Corinthian

* It is significant that the word *φυσιοῦν*, "to puff up," occurs no less than six times in this Epistle, and only once besides in the New Testament.

Christians were exposed to the double danger of men with active minds and ready tongues who were on a low moral level and in a defective state of grace.

The feelings with which the Apostle entered upon a reply to the letter from the Corinthians brought by Stephanas and his companions (1 Cor. xv. 30-32) we are not left to imagine. He tells us himself (2 Cor. ii. 4): "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears"—the deepest and tenderest sorrow of all moved him, the sorrow of love—"that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you." But one circumstance may perhaps have added special poignancy to St. Paul's grief. Again and again he had to contend with Judaizing opponents, and on this occasion they were not absent. It does not appear, however, that those in the various churches who sympathized with Paul's method of preaching the gospel with the breadth, freedom, and universal scope so characteristic of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, usually gave him any trouble. In this instance, however, it would appear as if some of these were "using freedom for a cloak of maliciousness," wresting and perverting the Apostle's words, and doing injury not only to St. Paul's name and influence, but to that for which he cared much more, the truth itself. It is bitter indeed to see those truths in which we especially glory, and for which we may have been compelled even to suffer, misunderstood by the ignorant and misrepresented by the evil-disposed, so that the house which had been put up with care and toil and sacrifice for a home and haven of rest, is turned before our eyes into a nest of robbers, a den of thieves. This was, however, St. Paul's position. Stanley, with his customary readiness to illustrate appositely from history, says: "The feelings of St. Francis in foreboding the corruptions of his Order; of Luther, on hearing of the insurrection of the peasants of Suabia or the enormities of the Anabaptists of Munster, afford a faint image of the Apostle's position in dealing with the first great moral degeneracy of the Gentile churches." A crisis had indeed arisen, but the manly heart rouses itself as at the sound of the trumpet when emergency summons. He is a coward who does not spring to meet danger; but the bravest man of all is he

who can meet it wisely and warily as well as boldly. For a blending of fearless courage with consummate wisdom and skill in meeting a formidable combination of ecclesiastical difficulties, we do not know where to find an example equal to that found in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.

This masterpiece of the Apostle of the Gentiles is the more worthy of our detailed study, because we have ourselves so many similar difficulties to encounter. The difficulties of a complex civilization at an advanced, if not a degenerate stage ;—the atmosphere of worldliness and the temptations that belong to a capital in which luxury and penury are found side by side ;—the dangers of a democracy in a wealthy commercial population, and amidst a people ever ready to follow fluent talkers if they have but plausibilities on their lips, and utter them with readiness and confidence ;—the emergence of a host of questions of conscience, such as must necessarily arise when church and world are brought into close contact, and the principles of the gospel are left to operate for themselves without the elaborate fences of an ecclesiastical system ;—the dangers of rationalism in connection with the subject of a future life and of refining away some elementary truths of the gospel in respect to the present life ;—these are only some of the dangers and difficulties common to the Corinthian churches and ourselves, and which present points of similarity that lie upon the surface. In one respect especially, the First Epistle to the Corinthians is a letter for our times, because it furnishes such an admirable illustration of the way in which the loftiest gospel principles are to be applied to the most ordinary details of life, and solves in so complete and masterly a way the problem how to exhibit the Christian spirit in the most diverse and apparently commonplace incidents of every day duty.

Our Epistle is indeed a manual of Christian ethics. Principal Edwards has some interesting remarks on St. Paul as a moral philosopher, and he goes so far as to say (Introduction, p. xxiii) that the Pauline doctrine of union with Christ "is conceived in right Platonic fashion," that "the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans contains more than one Aristotelian conception, and there cannot be much doubt that the ruling ideas of the Greek school had reached him : Hellenism was in

the air," &c. We cannot quite follow Mr. Edwards here, nor do we understand him to mean that Paul was fighting Greek errors with Greek philosophical weapons. But we do believe that in this Epistle we have an admirable specimen of moral philosophy, as the Christian understands the word, and that just as Aristotle in setting up his standard of moral judgment has much to say about the *φρόνιμος*—the man of sense, according to whose judgment right and wrong in practical affairs might be determined, so we have in St. Paul's *πνευματικός*—the spiritually-minded man, one whose judgment on difficult moral questions might be appealed to with confidence in proportion as he was filled with the true spirit of Christ (see especially ch. ii. 10-16); and that the finest example known of a man thus possessing "the mind of Christ" is St. Paul himself, and the finest illustration of his ability to guide and teach men who would learn in the school of Christian ethics is the Epistle before us.

We need not analyze its contents in detail. After the Introduction (i. 1-9), the first section of the Epistle deals with the subject of the factions in the Church (i. 10; iv. 21). The next section is occupied with the serious moral scandal that had arisen in connection with the case of incest (v. 1; vi. 20). After this follows the detailed treatment of the questions propounded. Under the head of marriage, a number of subordinate topics are treated, including a brief but important reference to slavery (ch. vii.). The casuistical questions concerning meats offered to idols and kindred topics occupy chs. viii. ix. and x., while ch. xi. deals with certain abuses in the Christian assemblies, the behaviour of certain women, and improprieties in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The next three chapters are occupied with the subject of spiritual gifts, and it is in the midst of this apparently technical discussion that there occurs one of the most beautiful passages in St. Paul's writings, the hymn in praise of Christian Love (ch. xiii.). The fifteenth chapter is occupied by the glorious and masterly exposition of the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection, which, once read, can never be forgotten; and the last chapter of all contains references to several miscellaneous matters, including the collection for the Church at Jerusalem, St. Paul's own move-

ments, together with a number of friendly salutations. When the amanuensis had done his work, closing words of unusual solemnity were added by the Apostle's own hand, containing a strangely blended anathema and benediction, and finishing with the touching words, "My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen."

Without attempting the impossible task of following the outline of these several arguments, we may illustrate the method adopted by the Apostle in combating the errors and answering the questions of the Corinthian Christians, in order that we may see what would be his method of dealing with similar questions and errors to-day. That which strikes us in connection with all is the noble and lofty character of his pleas and arguments. Nowhere does he descend to the level on which alone these errors and doubts were possible, but in every case seeks to raise the Corinthians to the "ampler ether, the diviner air" of lofty Christian principle, which he was himself accustomed easily and naturally to breathe. For example, in dealing with the factions and party spirit which were working so much mischief, St. Paul does not for a moment descend to discuss the points of difference between Apollos, Peter, and himself. He does not deny that differences existed; not of course in the doctrine preached, but in the method of presenting it. He does not even urge that these differences are comparatively slight, but at once (i. 13) flies to the Centre with an indignant question of appeal: "Is Christ divided? * Has He been made a share, portioned out, so as to belong to a party? If so, what is to become of the rest? Is Paul a Saviour, and can you by possibility think of a mere minister of Christ hanging on the tree as a sacrifice for sins?" Thus with one stroke of his sharp axe does the loyal bond-servant of the Lord Jesus Christ cut at the very root of all the mischievous undergrowths of partisan strifes and jealousies which would interfere with the absolute supremacy of the one Lord and Saviour. The longer that single question "Is Christ divided?" is pondered, the more fully will it be seen that in it lies the

* Canon Evans' note *in loco* is exceedingly good. He indicates two possible shades of meaning in *μεμρίσται*, tracing out the connection of thought in the case of each.

one unanswerable reply to all party spirit in the Christian Church.

St. Paul, however, does not content himself with this. In the third chapter, after pointing out the distinction between "spiritual" and "carnal," and showing that the existence of party divisions proves the Corinthians to be still "carnal" in their ways of thinking and feeling, he urges another plea for unity of spirit and action. All ministers of Christ are engaged in one work, and that work, rightly understood, is not their own. How absurd to set one husbandman who plants over against another who waters the growing flowers! (Mark here, moreover, the delicacy of his reference to the co-labourers against whose names that of St. Paul had been set in an unnatural opposition.) A threefold argument is contained in the closing words of the third chapter: "Wherefore let no man glory in men. For all things are yours," &c. First, the teachers are not masters in the Church, but servants of it. Secondly, the Church itself may claim authority over a great heritage, possessing, as it does, lordship over life with all its opportunities and advantages, and mastery over death with all its overshadowing fears and mysterious issues; those, therefore, who possess all things, should not narrow mind and heart and sympathies by dwelling upon subordinate and sectional considerations. And, lastly, this great inheritance belongs to Christians only in proportion as they do not claim it in their own right, but reverently own that they "are Christ's," who, in turn, gladly acknowledges that He "is God's," and thus the circle of ownership and obedience is complete. A study of this whole passage, reveals the pregnant character of the Apostle's brief sentences. Each of them contains an argument capable of expansion into whole pages.* We content ourselves, however, with hinting how different the Church of Christ to-day would be, if the unfortunate divisions which now distract it

* Principal Edwards says of iii. 22, 23: "This short but pregnant section is co-ordinate, logically, with the previous three arguments against dissensions in the Church. The first was based on the relation of the Church to Christ as its Saviour, the second on its relation to the Holy Spirit as Revealer, the third on its relation to God who giveth the increase. An additional argument is now drawn from the prerogative of the Church itself as possessor of all things" (p. 90).

were met in the method and healed by the spirit of the Apostle Paul.

Some of the most valuable teaching of the First Epistle to the Corinthians concerns the application of the Christian law of liberty in things "indifferent." St. Paul had occasion to refer to this subject in the Epistle to the Romans (ch. xiv.), and he does so once or twice elsewhere, but nowhere does he explain and illustrate its working with such fulness and conclusiveness as in the Epistle we are now considering. Apparently St. Paul had in his teaching at Corinth laid down the principle of liberty in things indifferent, clearly and emphatically, and there was no little danger lest mischief should be wrought by the carrying of this principle to excess. The statement in vi. 12: "All things are lawful for me," seems to have been a quotation current amongst the Corinthians, and the following verses more than hint that Antinomian practice was founded upon this unguarded primary axiom, while ch. viii. 1-4 clearly shows what a certain section were in the habit of saying with regard to meats offered to idols: "We have knowledge," and "No idol is anything in the world." Confronted by the dangers which the abuse of the principle of Christian liberty was occasioning, St. Paul does not on that account deny its validity or rob it of its power. But he prevents its abuse by showing (vi. 12-20) first, that there is a moral sphere in which are no *ἀδιάφορα* or debatable regions, where stern moral reprobation of evil is the only course to be pursued; and the licentious are checked in a moment with the scathing words: "Shall I take the members of Christ and make them the members of a harlot?" But he goes on to show that in the region where circumstances do alter cases—and the Christian Church should never forget that such a region exists, and that attempts too rigidly to limit this neutral area or entirely to deny its existence have always wrought moral mischief—the Christian law of liberty must be upheld, but its operation limited by the play of a higher law: that of Christian love. And in the application of the perfectly harmonious Christian principles of liberty and love to a multitude of details, St. Paul, even while declaring (vii. 25) that he is not announcing a commandment, but exercising a judgment of a faithful servant of Christ, shows himself to be a guide and teacher

inspired by that Spirit who enables the spiritual man to judge all things.

There will always be room for Christian casuistry, rightly understood, and always need of it. Not the casuistry of the Schools, still less the mischievous caricature of it practised by Romish priests. Not even such a man as Jeremy Taylor could produce a true *Ductor Dubitantium*, proceeding, as he did, upon false principles and a false method. St. Paul shows us the true method of dealing with "cases" of conscience by the application of indubitable principles, and himself in this Epistle leads the way so that every thoughtful Christian should be able to follow him. On the subject of marriage, for example, with which the seventh chapter is mainly occupied, a number of difficulties arose in the mixed state of society as to the relations between Pagan husbands and Christian wives, or Christian husbands and Pagan wives, and again, in the case of parents and their unmarried daughters. St. Paul lays down the principle that marriage is honourable, and where the tie exists it is not to be dissolved; although those, like himself, to whom an exceptional "gift" is granted, which enables them to keep free from the entanglements of married life, are saved much trouble and anxiety. The marriage state is always sacred, and not to be interfered with; let the believing wife save her husband, the believing husband save his wife. While occupied with this theme, the Apostle, as his custom is, widens still further the application of his principle, and shows how it applies to circumcision and slavery. The Christian is to abide in his "calling," and hallow it by the principles which govern his life; "let each man, wherein he was called, therein abide with God." Nevertheless, even here, as verse 21 shows, a principle is not to be narrowed down into a law, and a slave who gains an opportunity of emancipation will gladly embrace it and show himself Christ's bond-servant in his freed state. What better guide, in a word, could a Christian seek to regulate his intercourse with the world than that contained in verses 29-31? "The time is shortened," opportunities are terribly compressed and narrowed in—take wives if you will, weep since you must, rejoice when you can, possess what you may; but in relation to the high calling and imperative duties of life be as if you

possessed not, wept not, rejoiced not, and let none of the lawful happiness or lawful sorrows of this earthly state engross your highest powers, interfere with your highest duty, rob you of your highest blessedness.

We must turn, however, from this fruitful subject to consider one or two of the crucial difficulties of interpretation in our Epistle, and ask what light recent commentators give upon these. There is an unusually large number of these vexed questions in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, arising probably not only from its length, but from the character of the subjects handled. The following are only a few out of the number: Who were the party named "of Christ" (i. 12)? What is meant by the expression in v. 5, "delivering unto Satan," &c.? by the "saints judging angels" (vi. 3)? by "the unbelieving husband sanctified in the wife" (vii. 14)? How are we to understand "because of the angels," in xi. 10, the *γλωσσολαλία* of chap. xvi., the baptism for the dead, of xv. 29? Some of these questions may be pronounced insoluble, referring, as some of them appear to do, to customs or beliefs with which we have no acquaintance; and on others, again, a suspense of judgment may well be the wisest attitude of mind. But we may refer to some of these, and compare the views of them taken by the recent interpreters whose works are named at the head of this article.

The question of the nature of the "Christ party" at Corinth is not a mere speculative one, and though it cannot be absolutely decided, a study of some parallel Scriptures throws considerable light upon it. Bishop Ellicott does not give much help here. In a few words he states his own view: "'I of Christ,' a spiritually proud utterance of yet a fourth party, who, in their recoil from what they might have justly deemed a sectarian adherence to *human* leaders, evinced even a worse than sectarian spirit by claiming to stand pre-eminently in the same relation to Christ, the common Lord, in which the others claimed to stand to Paul, Apollos, or Cephas." Principal Edwards curtly dismisses the question by saying (p. 14): "What their peculiar doctrines were it is useless to conjecture. They may have been mystics, they may have been rationalists.

Every man will judge for himself what it is likely those who reject apostolic teaching will have left." This is very unsatisfactory, and the last clause begs the whole question. Professor Godet on the other hand gives us a very full account of the various views that have been held on the subject, and then his own, with reasons duly assigned. He sets altogether aside the view of Chrysostom, Augustine, and others, that these persons were genuine Christians, untainted by party spirit, and admitting that the view advocated above by Ellicott is clear, simple, and has much in its favour, he shows that the passages 2 Cor. x. 7 and xi. 22-23 point to another conclusion. It seems clear that there were some in the Church who claimed a special and peculiar relation to Christ, and Godet's own view is "that this ultra-party was guided by former members of the priesthood and of Jewish Phariseeism (Acts vi. 7, xv. 5), who, in virtue of their learning and high social position, regarded themselves as infinitely superior to the Apostles. . . . They designated themselves as "those of Christ," not because their leaders had personally known Jesus, and could better than others instruct the churches in His life and teaching, but as being the only ones who well understood His mind, and who preserved more firmly than the Apostles the true tradition from Him in regard to the questions raised by Paul" (i. 75). Whichever of these views is correct, it would unfortunately not be difficult to find among the divisions of the Church to-day a parallel to the Christ party, who dared to make the name of Christ a badge of a sect.

With regard to the saints "judging angels" Ellicott says: "We cannot hesitate, with all the early expositors, to limit the word here to the *evil* angels, of some at least of whom it is specially said that they are awaiting their judgment" (Jude 6). "In the *κρίσεις μεγάλης ἡμέρας* to its full extent, whether over angels or men, the saints shall co-operate and take a part." Principal Edwards, taking a similar view, and rejecting the view of Meyer and others, that the reference is to good angels, adds: "The thought that the saints will pass sentence of condemnation on fallen angels is but the complement of the doctrine taught by St. Paul, that they here wrestle against principalities and powers (Eph. vi. 12). The contest will aid

in the defeat of the evil spirits (Luke x. 19, 20)." Godet says: "We must not overlook the absence of the article before the word *angels*: 'beings belonging to the category angel.'" Paul does not mean to designate these or those angels: he wishes to awaken within the Church the feeling of its competency and dignity by reminding it that beings of so exalted a nature shall one day be subjected to its jurisdiction. It is remarkable that in the parables of the tares and of the dragnet, it is the angels who effect the division between men, while in our passage it is sanctified believers who judge angels. It seems as if God would glorify Himself in each of these orders of His creatures by means of the other" (i. 289).

The much-debated verse xi. 10 is obscure because of its brevity. St. Paul did not find it necessary to expand the clause "because of the angels" in arguing upon the position of women in the Church, and we cannot possibly determine with certainty what he meant by it. Ellicott holds that the simplest view is that the Apostle refers to holy angels, who were held both by the Jewish Church (authorities quoted) and by the early Christians (authorities quoted) to be present in the services of the Church. One allusion of this kind has perhaps escaped the notice of many readers; we mean the passage in our own Communion Service which has come down to us from the earliest Liturgies: "Therefore with angels and archangels," &c. Edwards judges that it is better not to limit the reference to the presence of the angels in the Church assemblies. "In our passage the angels are mentioned as examples to the woman of holy creatures that keep their place of subordination." Godet objects to this view that "the preposition *διά*, *because of*, expresses a different relation from that of example. It is rather to the presence of the angels that Paul calls attention." He reminds us that in Luke xv. 7, 10, the angels in heaven hail the conversion of every sinner; that according to Eph. iii. 10, "they behold with adoration the infinitely diversified wonders which the Divine Spirit works within the Church; finally, that in this very epistle (iv. 9) they form along with men that intelligent universe which is the spectator of the apostolical struggles and sufferings. Why, then, should they not be invisibly present at the worship of the

Church, in which are wrought so large a number of those works of grace?" (ii. 123).

On "being baptized for the dead" (xv. 29) Ellicott holds that only two views are possible: one that of the ancient expositors, who understand "for the dead" to mean "as a manifestation of belief in the resurrection from the dead"; the other that of most moderns, who find a reference to a custom according to which living believers were baptized as proxies for dead unbaptized believers. He inclines to the latter. Canon Evans, who devotes a detached note to the subject, argues at length for the former view, holding that the preposition *ὑπέρ* need not mean "in behalf of" or "in place of." He adds: "Unquestionably the right view of this controverted passage is that of the Greek fathers, Chrysostom and others. They found no more difficulty in St. Paul's elliptical use of the Greek *ὑπέρ* than we do in Shakespeare's elliptical use of the word *for*. They did not hesitate in their homilies to expound that the phrase 'for the dead' meant 'with an interest in the resurrection of the dead.'" Edwards holds the more modern view, and justifies the apostle in using, by way of *argumentum ad hominem* an allusion to a superstitious custom. Godet, on the other hand, asks: "What purpose would have been served by adopting this course of bad logic and doubtful honesty?" He himself inclines to the view that not the baptism of water is referred to, but the baptism of blood—*i.e.*, martyrdom. "The words would thus signify to be baptized, not as the believer is, with the baptism of water, to enter into the Church of the living, but to enter into that of the dead; the word dead being chosen in contrast to the Church on the earth, and to bring out the heroism of that martyr-baptism which leads to life only through communion with the dead." We are not ourselves discussing these various questions, only illustrating the views of commentators; but on this verse we feel bound to say that we cannot understand how so many interpreters have brought themselves to believe that St. Paul was alluding to a superstitious custom of late origin, probably founded on a misunderstanding of this verse. We think further, that none should reject the view of the Greek fathers—who surely ought to understand their own language—without carefully

reading and digesting Canon Evans' learned and vigorously written note.

The changes made in the Revised Version of our Epistle claim a brief notice. Of these, only a small proportion depend upon changes made in the text, and those are by no means of the first importance. The alterations in rendering are much more considerable and important. We need not dwell on such as occur throughout the New Testament, greater accuracy in the rendering of article, tenses, prepositions, and the like, but turn rather to those which may be considered peculiar to our Epistle. A few may be specified. In ii. 13 the Revisers have not changed in the text the expression of the Authorized Version comparing "spiritual things with spiritual" but have given "combining" in the margin. There is considerable doubt about the meaning of *συγκρίνειν* here. Ellicott mentions as possible (a) "combine," adopted by Calvin, Meyer; (b) "compare," so the Vulgate and Syriac versions; (c) "interpret," Chrysostom and ancient expositors. Without entering into a discussion unsuited to these pages, we may say that Ellicott prefers the rendering "combine," adding, "the meaning being, that the Apostle clothed his spirit-revealed truths in spirit-taught language, and thus *combined* what was spiritual in substance with what was spiritual in form." Godet renders "adapting spiritual teachings to spiritual men"; Edwards follows the translation of Authorized Version and Revised Version (text), explaining the words, "revealed truths are combined so as to form a consistent and well-proportioned system of truths in their co-relation."

The rendering of Revisers in iii. 3, "saved through fire," prevents the ambiguity of the Authorized Version, "by fire"; that in iii. 17, "If any man destroyeth the temple of God," preserves the double use of the word *φθείρειν* for the English reader, as the Authorized Version fails to do. In iv. 4, the archaism "by" is removed, and the phrase made intelligible: "I know nothing *against* myself." In v. 1, the Authorized Version would give us to understand that it was an accepted principle that a man *should have* his father's wife; the Revisers correct this: "that one of you *hath*." The rendering in v. 10, "in my epistle," is preferable to "an

epistle," but does not settle the vexed question whether reference is here made to a lost epistle or no. In vi. 7, "to move you to shame," gives the meaning better than "to your shame." The ambiguity in vii. 21 is in our view rightly removed by the Revisers, and preference given to the interpretation, that emancipation was to be accepted and used, when opportunity offered; "but if thou canst become free, use it rather." The marginal rendering, "nay, even if," favours the alternative view that the slave was not to be anxious for freedom, but to make the best of his position as a slave. In vii. 29, "the time is shortened" gives better the Apostle's idea in *συνεσταλμένος*, which properly means "contracted," as a sail is furled in. In ix. 5 the word "sister" is ambiguous, and the Revisers have substituted "believer." In ix. 27 it is difficult in English to give the full strength of *ὀπωπιάζω*, "to bruise black and blue;" but "buffet" is a decided improvement on "keep under." In x. 13, "such as a man can bear," instead of "common to man," as a translation of *ἀνθρωπινός* teaches an important lesson. In xi. 10 the insertion of the words in italics, "*a sign of authority*," help to render the meaning less obscure. We further note "prove himself" instead of "examine," in xi. 28; "judgment" for "damnation" in xi. 29; "in a mirror" instead of through a glass," in xiii. 12; "thou foolish one," instead of the contemptuous "thou fool," in xv. 36; and the reproduction of "anathema" in xii. 3 and xvi. 22, as distinct improvements. These are but specimens of many others, some of them of great importance to an English reader.

The most eagerly debated change made by the Revisers in this Epistle is the substitution of "love" for "charity" throughout chapter xiii. For our own part we rejoice unfeignedly in this return to the rendering of Tyndale and the early English versions. The word "charity" is a mere following of the Vulgate *caritas*, the use of which was necessitated in Latin by the associations of *amor*; but in English, happily, the word "love" is by no means degraded, and the gain in being able to use the same English word when we read "Love is the fulfilling of the law," "love never faileth," "God is love," is immense. We regret we cannot dwell longer on this subject.

An article on the First Epistle to the Corinthians which has no more than this to say on St. Paul's wonderful hymn in praise of love in chapter xiii., and hardly anything upon the magnificent discourse on the resurrection in chapter xv., may well be considered defective indeed. But to begin the detailed examination of either chapter would take us entirely beyond our limits, and we have preferred to comment on the Epistle as a whole, rather than to deal with these glorious passages at length, either of which would of itself have been enough to distinguish and crown the Epistle for all time.

A separate article might very well be written upon the apologetic value of our Epistle. An undoubted production of the Apostle Paul, undoubtedly dating some twenty years after the death of Jesus of Nazareth, it would not be difficult to base upon this composition alone, without using at all the details supplied by the four Gospels, a strong and stable structure of Christian evidences. Only consider the valuable support given to historical Christianity by the statement of St. Paul concerning the institution of the Lord's Supper (xi. 23-26), his summary of the traditional Gospel (xv. 1-4), and the evidence for the Resurrection (xv. 5-8); consider the language used throughout concerning Him who, in the compass of a few lines in the opening of the Epistle, is six times solemnly styled "Our Lord Jesus Christ"; consider the great value—all the greater because the testimony given is indirect and unconscious—to the faith of the Church concerning the death and atonement of Christ in the single question, "Was Paul crucified for you?" where the absurdity of placing the work of Christ on a level with anything that the most distinguished Apostle or teacher could do for men, is taken for granted. This, taken in conjunction with the whole language of chaps. i. and ii., concerning the doctrine of the Cross, is very significant. Consider, again, the language used in viii. 6 concerning the person of Christ, who, according to universal admission, had not been dead more than some twenty years when these words were written. Where is the room for the growth of a myth here? We need not further enlarge upon the subject. Mr. Beet, in his commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles, rightly insists strongly upon their apologetic value, and the weight

and importance of the argument we have merely hinted at is becoming more appreciated every year.

We close our sketch where we began. What a wealth of material for the Christian student does one single book of the Bible, intelligently studied, contain; and how great in these days have the helps to such intelligent study been multiplied! We have referred in this article only to the chief commentaries on one Epistle that have appeared in one country during some half-dozen years. But while helps are not wanting, we fear that among ministers, and thoughtful readers generally, the method is too often wanting which would cause such a book as the First Epistle to the Corinthians to yield its full riches to the ready mind. In "prospecting" for this gold it will not suffice to pick up the dust which casual streams have rolled up here and there in the river-bed. Only a few, perhaps, need undertake the process of "quartz-crushing" implied in systematic and minute word-study, but those who do so will be amply repaid. What we plead for is the study as a whole of each book of the Bible, such as in this Epistle would draw out for individuals or congregations its invaluable teaching on the training of the Christian conscience, in contradistinction to the habit of hunting for phrases here and there which may serve as telling "texts," or the perpetual repetition of the truths taught by a few familiar passages of Scripture, to the almost utter neglect of many of its broad and comprehensive lessons. "God has yet more light to break out of His Holy Word," said Robinson of Leyden, but such light will come mainly by the education of the reader's eyes. Butler's statement concerning the Bible, that "it is not at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered," presents no difficulty at all when we remember that a book so revered as the Bible is amongst us to-day, may yet in all soberness *never be really read* by those who have it constantly in their hands. The message to Augustine, "*Tolle, lege*," is not yet superfluous; and he who needs guidance as to the bearing of Christianity on conscience and the tangled affairs of daily life—to say nothing of many other subjects of the first importance—will do well to "take up and read" the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

ART. III.—RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN
PALESTINE.

1. *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine.* By EDWARD HULL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Palestine Exploration Fund. 1885.
2. *Survey of Western Palestine: "Geology."* By EDWARD HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. Palestine Exploration Fund. 1886.
3. *Egypt and Syria.* By Sir J. W. DAWSON. London: Religious Tract Society.
4. *Across the Jordan.* By GOTTLIEB SCHUMACHER, C.E. London: Bentley & Son. 1886.

UNQUESTIONABLY the most important event, in modern times, connected with the topographical study of Palestine, is the scientific survey of the whole region west of the Jordan, conducted by the skilful, experienced officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Their labours culminated in the publication, a few years since, of the great map in twenty-six sheets, and the accompanying seven volumes of elaborate *Memoirs*. One great result of this work has been, on the one hand, to whet the appetite of explorers, and to direct their energy to new tasks, and, on the other, to greatly increase the number of readers in England who are ever on the alert for fresh facts and new discoveries. The splendid success of the past has created and sustains a desire for the extension of this scientific survey over the great district lying east of the Jordan, and has kindled the hope in many hearts that this generation will see the work done for all the countries fairly coming under the designation of "Bible lands."

Our present purpose is to give a rapid sketch of the chief explorations, excavations, and discoveries of the last two or three years, especially indicating the light they throw upon Biblical matters and the indication they give of rich harvests yet to be reaped in this field.

First and foremost comes Jerusalem; and the energy with which the conflict still rages over such questions as the exact site of Solomon's temple, the size and situation of the city of David, the true line of the ancient walls, bears testimony to the keen interest felt in all appertaining to the sacred city. Marvellous are some of the divergent inferences drawn from and based upon the same facts. What is most clear is that the great desideratum in Jerusalem is more excavation. It is by that sure guide alone that facts are obtained; unfortunately it is the most difficult of all ends to attain.

Very recently an incident occurred which exhibits in a very strong light the valuable results that could easily be attained by this method. In Jerusalem, between David's Tower and the United States Consulate, there is a broad space which has hitherto been roughly paved. It entered into the minds of those in authority, in April, 1885, to transform this unkempt waste into something like an ordinary European street. In doing this, at a depth of only a few feet, there were brought to light the ruins of old houses, ancient cisterns, and considerable traces and remains of an ancient wall. Dr. Selah Merrill, the United States Consul, an enthusiastic Biblical archæologist, naturally watched with interest the progress of these excavations. In the same neighbourhood there is a large open space upon which the authorities, as reported, intend to build a "Grand Hotel." The surface of the space is 8 or 10 feet above the level of the road, and in order to get a good foundation for the projected building, excavations to the depth of 20 feet below the roadway were made. We cannot do better than give in Dr. Merrill's words what he saw:

"Nothing less has been brought to light than the actual foundations of the second wall, described by Josephus as beginning at the gate Gennath, and encircling the northern quarter of the town. . . . At a depth of 15 feet from the surface of the ground, or rather of the street, a portion of the ancient second wall was exposed. Two layers of stone, and at two or three points three layers, were found still in position. These were of the same size and character in every way as the largest of the stones of the so-called Tower of David opposite; . . . these massive stones and all these old remains in this piece of ground have been worked into the foundations of the new buildings, and although they were not broken they are now covered and for ever lost from sight. It is a great satisfaction,

however, to have seen these solid foundations of old Jerusalem uncovered after they had been buried for so many centuries."

It is interesting also to note that in the same place were found a number of pieces of pottery with the stamp of the Tenth Legion upon them, and also a column with part of a Latin inscription containing the name of that Legion.

The importance of this discovery—granting, of course, that Dr. Merrill is right in identifying what he saw as the second wall, and none competent to judge seem disposed to question this—consists in the fact that it occurs where those who have most carefully studied "Underground Jerusalem" expected that it would be found. It makes a very formidable addition to the accumulating proofs that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not a genuine site, inasmuch as it almost certainly falls *within* this second wall, while it is certain that the place of crucifixion must have been without.

This discovery also tends to confirm one of the most deeply interesting identifications of recent years—viz., that by Captain Conder, of what he holds to be the true site of Calvary. The traditional site is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There has always been grave reason to doubt the possibility of this being the true site. But, some few years since, Captain Conder was struck by the fact that a platform of limestone outside of the Damascus Gate seemed to fulfil all the requirements of the Gospel narrative. Towards the city the platform breaks off with a slight scarp, and on the face of this scarp is a cave which has long been known as "Jeremiah's Grotto." Seen from one point of view this knoll has the appearance of a skull, and to this fact, possibly, the name Golgotha was due. Recent observers concur in regarding this as the true site of the most sacred spot on the earth, the place where the Saviour "laid down His life for the sheep." Sir J. W. Dawson accepts the evidence, and Professor Hull says :

"A Mohammedan cemetery occupies a portion of the platform, and an Arab sheik has pitched his tent at its base. Here, undesecrated by any building, sacred or profane, stands in its naked simplicity the natural platform on which was erected the cross of the Saviour. From this position with outstretched arms He embraced the city over which He had wept when He viewed it from the Mount of Olives. The position of that

view and the last are almost exactly opposite each other. And, as if to place the identification of the spot beyond controversy, an ancient Roman causeway has been discovered, stretching in the direction of Herod's Gate, which, passing through Agrippa's wall, opens out almost in front of the platform; we can scarcely doubt it was that along which the procession moved, after leaving the Prætorium, towards the place of crucifixion. Amongst all the objects referable to the time of our Lord none seems to me more clearly genuine than that I have now described as the site of Calvary."

This was written some time before Dr. Merrill saw and described the parts laid bare of the ancient second wall, and it is interesting to note how that discovery tends to strengthen Captain Conder's identification; first, by showing that Calvary cannot have been where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; and secondly, because the probable course of the second wall leaves the "place of the skull" *without* its area. This is a good instance of how careful excavation and examination of the topography of Jerusalem may yet do much to replace impossible traditional by probable scientific identification of spots dear to every Christian heart.

After the abrupt termination in 1882 of the survey of Palestine east of the Jordan, and finding that nothing could be done at Constantinople in the way of getting a firman, the Palestine Exploration Fund organized an expedition having for its object the careful scientific examination of the Desert of Sinai, the Valley of Rabah and the Valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea, with a view to determining accurately their geological history. The work was done in the winter of 1883-1884, by a party under the leadership of Professor Hull, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland. He has described his work and its results in popular form, in a book called *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, published in 1885, and in strictly scientific form in an elaborate Memoir recently published. A year or two earlier the eminent geologist and recent President of the British Association, Sir J. W. Dawson, F.R.S., of Montreal, went over the same ground. He has embodied his views in an interesting little volume called *Egypt and Syria*, published by the Religious Tract Society in their valuable series, *Bypaths of Bible Knowledge*. It is an important testimony to the results of the survey, that

these two authorities agree in all the most important conclusions based upon the geological facts. Although a great deal has been done in the way of studying the geological phenomena of the Holy Land in recent years, by such men as Lortet, Lartet, Fraas, Holland, and others, it is through the works of Dawson and Hull that comprehensive and easily accessible accounts of the geological phenomena have been placed in the hands of English readers. Although the Memoir by Professor Hull aims at scientific completeness rather than popular form, yet any English reader acquainted with common geological terms can gain a better idea of the geological history of Sinai and Palestine from its pages than from any previously published volume.

The part of Professor Hull's book most attractive to the general reader is that entitled "Dynamical Geology," giving a sketch of the various rock formations, and a history of the changes which have resulted in impressing upon the surface of the Holy Land its present configuration. During what is known as the Eocene period, Syria and the Arabian Peninsula, together with North Africa, formed the floor of the ocean, the only land above the surface of the waters being the highest peaks in the Sinai region and those along the shores of what is now the Red Sea. During the Miocene period the great movements took place which gave to the land, roughly speaking, its present configuration, and while elevating the present land out of the waters and exposing it for ages to the forces of denudation, greatly depressed some parts of the ocean bed.

At the close of this Miocene period, the Mediterranean was probably a chain of lakes, "owing to which many of its islands, such as those of Malta and Sicily, became united to the mainland and were the abodes of elephants, hippopotami, and fresh-water turtles."

An induction, based upon observations in Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus, establishes the fact that during what is called the Pluvial geological period, the land had sunk again, the depression amounting in all to about 220 feet. The results of this are a good illustration of how greatly a slight change in the elevation of the earth's

surface may affect large areas. The depression of the land 220 feet turned Africa into an island, changed the Nile into a great salt-water gulf as far as Karnak, made the Isthmus of Suez a great strait, extended the Gulf of Rabah many miles further north, and changed the Jordan valley into a huge inland sea over 200 miles in length. The proof of this statement is the existence of raised sea-beaches and lake-beaches far above the present sea-level, and many evidences of the action of sea at an elevation of 220 feet above the present Mediterranean level from places as far apart as the Mokattam Hills, near Cairo, and Beyrout, the valley of Rabah, and the island of Cyprus. During this period the climate of Palestine resembled that of Great Britain to-day, and the waters of the Dead Sea stood at about the present sea-level. As the glaciers and snows disappeared from Lebanon, and the climate gradually approached its present conditions, the waters of the Mediterranean and Red Seas shrunk to their present proportions, and the Jordan valley gradually became the bed of two lakes connected by a river. During this process the waters of the Dead Sea gradually reached that state which entitles it *par excellence* to the name of the Salt Sea. It parts with its waters only by evaporation, and in this process the water departs leaving its saline ingredients behind. In the ocean 100 lbs. of water yield 6 lbs. of salt; in the Salt Sea the same quantity yields 24·57 lbs. In both the water at the surface is less salt than that at the bottom. What a different appearance from its present state Palestine must have presented at this time, the following description, given in Professor Hull's words, illustrates:—

"It would seem that during the Glacial epoch Palestine and Southern Syria presented an aspect very different from the present. The Lebanon throughout the year was snow-clad over its higher elevations, while glaciers descended into some of its valleys. The region of the Hauran, lying at its southern base, was the site of several extensive volcanoes, while the district around and the Jordan valley itself, was invaded by floods of lava. A great inland sea, occupying the Jordan valley, together with the existing comparatively restricted sheets of water, extended from Lake Huleh on the north to a southern margin near the base of Samrat Fiddan in the Wady el Arabah of the present day, while numerous arms and bays stretched into the glens and valleys of Palestine and Moab

on either hand. Under such climatic conditions, we may feel assured, a luxurious vegetation decked with verdure the hills and vales of Palestine and Arabia Petrea to an extent far beyond that of the present; and amongst trees, as Sir J. D. Hooker has shown, the cedar may have spread far and wide." *

In *Mount Seir* Professor Hull has produced one of the most readable books of travel in the Holy Land ever published. It is interesting to observe, side by side with the most careful adherence to scientific method, an entire absence of desire to use the evidence of the land *against* the book, a quality not wanting in some recent books. There is everywhere to be traced the deep conviction that our interest in these regions is of a far higher kind than that attaching to the acquisition of knowledge, important as this may be; but that it is due to the fact that, amid the awful mountain solitudes of Sinai, the Law was given to men, and that by Tiberias and in Jerusalem lived and suffered the One who "bare our sins in His own body on the tree," and that there the land was made holy for all time by being the scene of the one perfect life.

Hence Professor Hull seizes upon every fact tending to throw light upon the Bible. For instance, his remarks upon the vexed question of the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites are worthy of careful attention. He holds that the place of crossing was somewhere near the present town of Suez. But at the present day there is a strip of land ten miles in length extending from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Bitter Lakes. Across this the host could have marched, "and," says the critic, "why go through the sea and render a miracle necessary, when it was possible to go by land?" Professor Hull thinks that geology affords a clue. As we have seen, ever since the Pliocene period the land has been slowly gaining upon the sea, and at present the sea-level is 220 feet below where it stood then. Now it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that 4000 years ago, short as that period of time is in geological calculations, the waters had not retired so far as at present. A depression of 25 feet would bring the waters of the Gulf of Suez up to the Bitter Lakes, and yet leave the

* *Mount Seir*, pp. 183-184.

isthmus to the north of the lakes dry, as we know it was in the days of the Pharaohs. The channel would have been shallow, but it is to a shallow channel that the account in Exodus most aptly applies.

Then Professor Hull agrees with Sir Charles Wilson and the late Professor Palmer in holding that when standing upon Jebel Musa the traveller is upon the "Mount of the Law," where God talked with Moses face to face. It rises abruptly from the plain, and answers most accurately to its description as a mount that "may be touched." The plain facing its great southern cliff, Ras Sufsafeh, which rises nearly 7000 feet above the plain, has an extent of 400 acres, and opens out into the wide valley of Es Sheikh, which provided ample camping-ground for the people, with their flocks and herds.

It is, perhaps, too much to hope that a final determination of the much discussed site of Kadesh Barnea has yet been reached. Professor Hull gives his voice in favour of 'Ain Kadesh, a valley and a spring about thirty-five miles west of the Arabah Valley, among the hills of the Tih. This place was first fixed upon by Rolands, and Dr. Trumbull has written an elaborate book on the subject. It seems to fulfil the conditions—viz., eleven days' journey from Horeb, south of the border of Canaan, and near those of Mount Seir. Against Dr. Trumbull's view Professor Hull thinks that Jebel Haroun (Aaron's Mount) is the Mount Hor of the Pentateuch.

As we have already noted, all purely scientific exploration under Turkish official permission has ceased. But here, as in so many other parts of the world, commerce in the pursuit of her own ends is able to confer benefits upon other departments in life. About two years ago a firman was granted for a survey of the district between Haifa and Damascus, with a view to the construction of a railway, and Herr Gottlieb Schumacher was appointed to conduct it. He has been able to interpret his instructions very liberally, and to do a great deal of survey work tending to further the ends of the Palestine Exploration Fund. One portion of his results has been published in the book called *Across the Jordan*, and another large manuscript is awaiting publication. A glance at

these results will help to show that all the gleanings have not yet been gathered up in this field.

The survey covered an area of 240 square miles of the high table-land known as Eastern Jauban and Western Hauran—that is, the region lying due east of the Sea of Galilee. Of course the various identifications stand only as Herr Schumacher's; still there can be no doubt that his labours add greatly to our knowledge of a most interesting region. We can only consider a few of the most important. For instance, he inclines to the view that a ruined site about six miles east of the Sea of Galilee, called Khurbet 'Arkûb er Rahwah, and situated on the shoulder of a hill at the junction of two streams, is that of the Biblical Argob (Deut. iii. 4, 14; 1 Kings iv. 13). This site has usually been placed in Trachonitis, but Schumacher points out that Burckhardt inclined to the view that Jaulan and not Batanæa was the true situation of the country of Argob. The Arabic epithet "Er Rahwah" means "squeezed in," and refers to the site as a bold promontory squeezed in between the two rivers.

The whole region abounds in traces of the powers who have successively ruled it, and though now inhabited mainly by nomads, signs abound on every hand to show that it was once the home of a large settled population. At Ain Dakkar are traces of a fine Roman road, Beit Akkar, a site of which nothing seems known, possesses ruins of many buildings, including a large castle; in the same region numerous dolmens are found. Herr Schumacher's views on these are worthy of note, in view of the interest which these ruins have aroused. He tells us:

"An examination of many specimens makes it apparent (1) that the dolmens of this district are always built on circular terraces which elevate them about 3 feet above the ground; (2) that in most cases they are formed by six upright and two covering slabs; (3) that the major axis of the dolmens all run east and west; (4) that the western side of the dolmen is broader than the eastern; (5) that the western side is often distinguished by headings, one in each corner of the top slab; and (6) that they vary in size from 7 to 13 feet in length.

The number of these singular monuments is very great. Standing upon one, Herr Schumacher counted 160 within

view. Contrary to Conder's opinion, Schumacher inclines to the view that they were originally tombs, the primal form of the sarcophagus. The fact that they are sometimes 12 or 13 feet long he explains, not on the hypothesis "that there were giants in those days," but that such tombs contained two bodies. The Arab name for them is *Kubûr Beni Israel*, "the graves of the children of Israel."

Herr Schumacher's account of the Western Hauran is full of interest. It is the home of the Arab el 'Anazeh, the largest Bedouin tribe in the country. His sketch of the Wulid 'Ali, one of the four branches of this tribe, and Muhammad ibn es Smeir, their chief sheikh, gives life-like pictures of the Arabs of to-day, who differ in no essential respects from the Arabs of the Christian era or of David's time. This tribe possesses the best breed of Arab horses, which, as a rule, they will not sell under £1000, preferring to part with them only as gifts. This branch of the tribe numbers about 30,000 to 35,000, and Muhammad is official guide of the Mecca pilgrims from Damascus along the Haj road, receiving for his services, from the Turkish Government, 300,000 piastres, swearing in return that no plundering takes place while they are under his charge. Here is his portrait :

"He is a short, stout man about fifty-five, and speaks very slowly, accentuating the phrases of most import; his face the while has an expression of great earnestness, which at times gives place to a smile. His appearance is sedate, and his bearing princely, but devoid of all arrogance of manner. He was dressed in a long silver-brocaded cloak, a gold-brocaded silk kerchief was tied round his head, and boots of yellow leather covered his feet. The tent was about 190 feet long and 30 wide, divided into two sections by a screen of goat hair; the larger, some 140 feet long, was for the guests, used also as place of assembly for the tribe, the second apartment being appropriated by the 'Harim' of the sheikh.

The most interesting site in the Hauran explored by Herr Schumacher is Ed Der-a'ah, which he identifies with the ancient capital of Bashan, the residence of that familiar Biblical personage, Og, King of Bashan. However this may be, the site is rich in ancient remains, possessing some extraordinary features. It is still the largest town in the region, if not in the whole Hauran, having a population of from 4000

to 5000. Like other ancient cities it now stands elevated upon the débris of former buildings. It possesses one of those curious old square towers of ancient masonry called Medanies. It abounds in ruins of aqueducts, a church, &c. The Medany is 60 feet high, and, like the others found in this region, stands near buildings evidently devoted to religious purposes. Rome knows exactly what these towers are, but probably they served the purpose of minarets.

The most extraordinary ancient feature is the subterranean city, which was discovered and partially described by Consul Wetzstein about 1860, and seems never to have been visited since. This consists of a series of underground chambers burrowed out of the soft white limestone. At a much later date, probably in the Roman period, supporting columns for the roofs were built. There are five of these chambers, two of them containing manglers, another stores, and another a cistern. From the innermost, which is 70 feet below the surface, a narrow passage burrowed still further into the rock. Herr Schumacher determined to see whither this led, but was foiled, and for the following reasons:—

“The air here (*i.e.*, in the last room), after some moments, became so bad that it was only by strong persuasion that I could keep my guide with me. He had long since wished to go back, and declared that no earthly being had ever penetrated before as far as this. Many of the Government officials had retired some time before this, and those who had accompanied me were now nearly frightened to death by a roaring noise which proceeded from the cistern in the chamber we had left, and resembled the cry of a wild cat; but, being unarmed, they were afraid of venturing alone. In spite of their earnest entreaties I determined to make an effort to force my way through the farther passage. It was of the exact size of my body, but I managed to crawl for over 80 feet along the smooth, slightly rising funnel; at this point it turned sharp to the right, and at a right angle, and became so narrow that I actually stuck, and the atmosphere being now insupportable, I had promptly to retire.”

Human bones were scattered about this passage. The sheikh informed Schumacher that there were other entrances, and that these chambers extended under the whole city; he himself thinks that he did not visit the part shown by Wetzstein. He thinks it was originally hollowed out to

receive the people of the upper city in time of siege. The whole city is full of objects worth examination, and would well reward further investigation.

The next largest place to Ed Der-a'ah in the Hauran visited by Schumacher was Nawâ. It also abounds in old ruins and possesses a Medany. There are many traces of Jewish influence, such as stones, upon which are carved the seven-branched candlestick, the jubilee trumpet and the olive leaf. Schumacher became impressed with the notion that this might be the "Land of Uz," and was led to collect the following evidence in favour of this view:—

"We find that Sheikh Sa'ad, three miles south of Nawâ, is a spot which, from the most ancient times, has been held sacred to the memory of Job. Then Tel el Khammân, ten miles south-east of Sheikh Sa'ad, is a name that might recall that of the country of Eliphaz, the Temanite; while En Na'eimeh, a little east of Ed Dera'ah, may be the home of Zophar, the Naamathite; and the district of Ez Zuweit I take to be the place whence came Bildad the Shuhite. Also Beidar Uz, a ruin which I discovered in the north-western part of Jaubân, may be translated the 'barn door of Uz.' These names and traditions, to my mind, furnish more presumptive evidence that the country of Western Haurân represents the Biblical Land of Uz."

The only other identification we can refer to is that of Tell el Ashary, which both Herr Schumacher and Mr. Lawrence Oliphant agree in fixing as the site of Ashtaroth Karnaim.

Whether these identifications stand the test of time or not, of the value of Herr Schumacher's work there can be no doubt. He confirms Captain Conder and all other competent observers in the confident opinion that the region of the east of the Jordan is rich in archæological mines, and that all who are interested in Biblical research should do what lies in their power to further the exploration of this whole district.

The latest discovery of Herr Schumacher's is an illustration of the fact that even in Western Palestine there remain many interesting facts for the careful observer to note. When Lieutenant-Colonel Kitchener surveyed the ruins of Tiberias and the neighbourhood, he noticed, some distance south of the modern city, a hill crowned with ruins. These he was not able to examine carefully, because at the time they were over-

grown with high thistles. A few months ago Herr Schumacher was struck by the appearance of these ruins, and as they were then in a more favourable state for investigation, he was able to make out that the hill was surrounded by a wall and three towers, and he was also able to trace the line of walls along the sea from opposite this hill up to the modern city, a distance of nearly a mile; this hill is about 580 feet above the level of the Sea of Galilee, and formed a kind of Acropolis of Tiberias, and was probably the fortress or Herod's castle, the destruction of which is mentioned in Josephus. The special feature of this discovery is, that it tends to prove that Tiberias in the time of the Saviour was no unimportant provincial town, but a large and flourishing city, with walls three miles in circuit, with a sea front of nearly a mile, and dominated by the great fortress on the hill at the southern extremity.

Another illustration of the same kind is the recent discovery of the tomb at Sidon. Dr. Wright, of the Bible Society, early in the present year, received a letter from Dr. Henry Jessup, of Beyrout, announcing that a curious tomb-temple had been discovered near Sidon. At the bottom of a shaft four chambers were discovered, and in these chambers several sarcophagi, exhibiting very fine examples of Greek sculpture. Here is a specimen :

"The upper part of the sarcophagus in the western chamber was loaded with ornaments. There were four beautiful lions at the corners. The tiles were not flat, but carved, and also hollowed, somewhat like eaves. Had the tiles been flat, the round edges would have suggested scales of fish. The line of the base of the slope had on it at intervals human heads with a surrounding of leaves, out of which they seemed to peer. Below, on the edge of the eaves, was a row of stags' heads with horns. On the main body of the sarcophagus there was first a row filled with geometrical figures, below a receding cornice of cups and almond, or fruit of some kind; then a strip of exquisite vine tracery, with the background painted. Below, a fierce battle, with the dead and dying, horses rearing and plunging; a very spirited representation. On the other side a hunting scene: a hunter barbarian stands up with outstretched arms, having just discharged an arrow; a man on horseback, as if thrusting a spear; then in front another horseman, and a lion has fastened upon the neck of his horse; the nostrils of the horse are dilated, and the skin is wrinkled above the nose. It is impossible to describe the many scenes depicted in this marvellous work of Greek sculpture."

The last fifteen years have seen the accumulation of a large number of sculptures, some with and some without inscriptions in a curious character, which scholars at present term "Hittite." These have been collected from an area extending roughly over the whole of Turkey in Asia. Almost every month new examples are being brought to light by one traveller or another. Professor Sayce has elaborated the theory that these widely-scattered and numerous monuments show that at one time the Hittites ruled a mighty empire, able to contend on equal terms with such a warrior as Rameses II., and even in the period of decay needing all the Assyrian power to overthrow it. Professor Sayce has also made the only probable attempts at decipherment of the inscriptions. The great need is a bilingual inscription in this curious Hittite language and in another which we already know. Professor Sayce lives in hope that this much-needed Hittite Rosetta stone will some day turn up. Until it does the interpretations must be largely guesswork. The results of Captain Conder's recent labours in this field are not satisfying to those who are best qualified to judge.

We may bring this imperfect sketch of the chief results of the explorations of recent years in Biblical lands to a close by noting that the number of eager and competent observers seems to increase year by year. The facts are steadily accumulating, and their constant tendency is to confirm the strict accuracy of the Biblical record. The researches of Conder, Hull, Dawson, Schumacher, and a host of others, all tend to make the meaning of the Bible clearer and its truth more assured to the intelligent reader. The sacred book abides amid all the changes of succeeding generations, because it is ever more and more proved to be both authentic in its references to the history of the past, and also able to make men wise for all the duties of the present.

ART. IV.—IRELAND AND THE CELTIC CHURCH.

Ireland and the Celtic Church: a History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

IT is a relief at the present day to meet a new book upon Ireland which omits the discussion of the "Land Question" and "Home Rule." It seems impossible, however, that anything should be written upon Irish affairs, ancient or modern, to which all parties could agree. Dr. Stokes traverses ground which he recognizes as "scorched and hot with the fires of manifold controversies," but he writes in the hope that no words of his will "deepen the wounds of Ireland, or cause pain to any generous heart, no matter what his religion or politics." This book consists of public lectures delivered from the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin. It is not an exhaustive or continuous History of either Church or State; it is a series of studies of prominent men, important crises, and leading principles, an accurate knowledge of which is indispensable to an understanding of the life of Ireland, civil and ecclesiastical, before the English conquest in 1172. Dr. Stokes disclaims the right to be regarded as an original investigator in Celtic literature and antiquities, but he shows a wide and familiar acquaintance with the best authorities, which cannot fail to secure respectful consideration for any view he advances.

St. Patrick is usually venerated as the founder of the Christian Church in Ireland. The Gospel may have been known there before his day, but there is no evidence of the organization of a Christian community until he opened his mission in the fifth century. Our knowledge of St. Patrick is derived mainly from his own *Confession*, his *Life* by Maccumac-thenius, and *Annotations* on his Life by Tirechan—all contained in the *Book of Armagh*, one of the treasures of the library of Trinity College, Dublin. There is also an *Epistle* of St. Patrick

which is accepted as genuine. France, Ireland, and Scotland have competed for the credit of having given him birth. Dr. Stokes joins the majority of recent writers in giving judgment in favour of Scotland. St. Patrick was born most probably at Dumbarton on the Clyde. He was of noble birth, and also a true "son of the manse." His father was Calpurnius, a deacon and a decurion or member of the local town council. His grandfather was Potitus, a priest. When St. Patrick was sixteen years of age, a band of Irish pirates visited his father's country house, and carried off a sister and himself. She was sold into slavery in Connaught; his destination was county Antrim. "We are able to identify the very place of his captivity. It was close to the village of Broughshane, five miles from Ballymena." His master's name was Milchu, and his occupation was tending cattle. In his solitude and adversity St. Patrick sought the Lord. Thinking upon his ways, he became deeply convinced of sin, but in communion with God he found rest unto his soul. He was every day "frequent in prayer," and often before the morning broke, in the woods or mountains, amidst the frost or snow or rain, he poured out his heart to God. "I felt no evil," he says, "nor was there any laziness in me, because, as I now see, the Spirit was burning within me." When he was three and twenty he received an intimation in a dream that he should soon return to his own country. Some time after, in a second dream, he was told that a ship was awaiting him two hundred miles away. He took to flight, found the ship, and sailed for France, whither his family appears to have removed.

St. Patrick's life between his escape from slavery and his return to Ireland as a missionary is wrapped in obscurity. A Supplement to the *Book of Armagh*, belonging to the tenth century and discovered at Brussels, states that he set out for Rome, but on his way fell in with Germanus of Auxerre, who detained and educated him. He is said to have visited the monastery of Lerins, an institution of the Oriental monastic type. Considerable difficulty attaches also to the question, Who sent him to Ireland? According to Tirechan, "Bishop Patrick was sent by Coelestine, Bishop and Pope of Rome, to instruct the Irish." But, as Dr. Todd points out, "the Con-

fession of St. Patrick contains not a word of a mission from Pope Celestine. One object of the writer was to defend himself from the charge of presumption in having undertaken such a work as the conversion of the Irish, rude and unlearned as he was. Had he received a regular commission from the See of Rome, that fact alone would have been an unanswerable reply. But he makes no mention of Pope Celestine or of Rome, and rests his defence altogether on the Divine call which he believed himself to have received for the work." Dr. Stokes treats both sides of this vexed question with his usual impartiality. He admits that the evidence is very conflicting. Still, he thinks the balance is in favour of St. Patrick's having been ordained to his Irish mission either by Germanus or by the Celtic bishops of Britain, who are known to have enjoyed the presence and administrative aid of Germanus at this period.

About the year 432 St. Patrick re-appeared in Ireland, landing where the town of Wicklow now stands. He did not remain long there, having determined not to rest until he had reached Dalaradia, the scene of his slave-life. Sailing north, he called at a small island off the coast at Skerries, named after him Inispatrick. He landed at Strangford Lough, and proceeded to explore the country. A native chief, Dichu, supposing him and his companions to be pirates, came out against them sword in hand. But he was so impressed by the venerable appearance of St. Patrick that he received him into his house. Better still, he listened to the missionary's preaching and accepted Christ, "the first of the Scots who confessed the faith under St. Patrick's ministry." Tradition says he presented to St. Patrick the ground on which they were standing. On this a church was erected, and subsequently called Sabhall Padhrig—Patrick's Barn. The term Sabhall survives in Saul, the present name of this parish. The church at Saul was the "earliest founded by St. Patrick, and continued to be a favourite haunt of his till death overtook him, for it was in the monastery of Saul he entered into his rest." St. Patrick was soon pressing on again towards Dalaradia. Maccumathenius appears to indulge in legend in giving an account of his arrival. His old master, Milchu,

the biographer says, fearing that the saint would subdue him and make him a slave, gathered all his substance into his house, and, standing on it as a funeral pile, burned himself to death. His family, however, received the truth, and a son, Guasacht, became a bishop.

But success in one corner of the island could not satisfy St. Patrick, who claimed the whole country for Christ. He resolved, therefore, to carry the Gospel to Tara, the seat of the King of Meath, supreme monarch of Ireland. The Hill of Tara is about twenty-five miles from Dublin. Tradition says it was a seat of sovereignty from such an early date that 126 kings ruled there before St. Patrick's day. In the opinion of Dr. Petrie, the existing monuments belong to the reign of Cormac MacArt, in the middle of the third century. "Cormac was not only a warrior; he was also a legislator and a ruler. He organized the Brehon Laws; the army, with the aid of his son-in-law, Finn MacCumhaill; the literary classes, the poets, bards, and chroniclers of Ireland; and settled the National Convention on a regular basis, appointing a meeting every third year for the administration of public affairs." His Hall of Assembly was situated on the northern slope of the hill. It was 759 feet long, 90 feet broad, and it had fourteen distinct entrances. The walls were of wood and clay. This poverty of building materials does not necessarily imply little comfort or a low state of civilization. Dr. Petrie says it is probable the Irish halls "were not unlike or inferior to those of the ancient Germans, of which Tacitus speaks in terms of praise, and which he describes as being overlaid with an earth so pure and splendid that it resembled painting." That some of the arts had attained a high development is put beyond doubt by two magnificent gold torques discovered in 1810, and preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

St. Patrick, setting sail from Strangford Lough, landed at the mouth of the Boyne. He drew his boats ashore, and proceeded up the bank as far as the graves of the sons of Fiee, the cemetery of Slane, within sight of Tara. It was Easter-eve, and he stopped to keep the feast. In accordance with ancient usage, he kindled his Easter fire. It happened that at the same time a pagan festival was being held at Court,

of which one rule was that no fire should be lighted until a beacon shone from the royal palace. The stranger's violation of this rule attracted attention to himself and his followers, and there began a series of communications between him and King Laoghaire. The account of St. Patrick's mission to Tara is embellished even in the *Book of Armagh*, and evidently borrowed some of its features from Moses' interviews with Pharaoh and Daniel's with Nebuchadnezzar. St. Patrick's success was limited. He gained a few courtiers, and perhaps secured some sort of profession from the King and Queen. But the King remained a pagan at heart, and ordered himself to be buried with the rites of his fathers. After unfurling the standard of the Cross in "royal Meath," St. Patrick carried it into all the provinces. Connaught was laid upon his heart from the beginning. He tells us in his *Confession* that, after his escape from captivity, he had a dream in which he heard "the voice of those who were near the Wood of Fochlut, which is near the Western Sea; and they cried out, 'We entreat the holy youth to come and walk still amongst us.'" St. Patrick spent seven years in Connaught, and names and monuments to this day tell of his mission there. Tirechan speaks of "Patrick's great church in the Wood of Fochlut." The Irish for a "great church" founded by St. Patrick is Domnach-Mor or Donaghmore, and a Donaghmore and a St. Patrick's Cross are still to be met with near Killala. The legend of the saint's visit to Croagh-Patrick will occur to every one in this connection. Tirechan says St. Patrick, after the example of Moses, retired to the mountain to spend forty days in fasting and prayer. It was in the twelfth century Joceline supplemented this simple story by crediting the saint with banishing serpents, toads, and other venomous creatures from Ireland with his miraculous staff. Unfortunately for Joceline's reputation, Solinus, a Roman geographer in the third century, had mentioned Ireland's exemption from reptiles.

Of St. Patrick's labours in the other provinces we have few trustworthy details. From Connaught he proceeded to Ulster, where he founded the see of Armagh in the year of 445, "a century and half," Dr. Stokes does not forget to say, "prior to the foundation of the see of Canterbury." St. Patrick visited

Leinster, preaching at Naas, the seat of the King. A journey to Munster also is mentioned, but the earliest records give no particulars. As we have already said, St. Patrick died at Saul, and since the seventh century is believed to have been buried at Downpatrick.

The second great name on the roll of Irish saints is that of St. Columba. He had the advantage of St. Patrick in one respect—he was a born Irishman. He stands out in the clear light of history in the *Life* by Adamnan, a kinsman and successor in the abbacy of Iona. This work was written within a hundred years of Columba's death, and, as edited by Bishop Reeves, is recognized as one of the most valuable specimens of ecclesiastical antiquity. Columba was born at Gartan, in county Donegal, in 521. He was educated under St. Finnian at Clonard, county Meath. Clonard was the most renowned of the Irish monastic schools of this time. Ussher says the number of pupils in attendance is usually put down at three thousand, and it had the honour of turning out, in addition to Columba, Kieran of Clonmacnois and Brendan of Clonfert. Columba went to Clonard a deacon, and assisted Finnian in Divine service while diligently pursuing his studies and practising the art of copying. Finnian wished to have him consecrated a bishop, and for this purpose sent him to Etchen, a neighbouring prelate. Columba found Etchen in the field ploughing. He was heartily welcomed by him, but by some mistake he was ordained priest instead of bishop. He afterwards left Clonard and made a round of the great schools in Ireland. Later on he threw himself with zeal into the work of founding churches and monasteries. Three hundred churches, it is said, owed their origin to him. Of these the most famous was that at Durrow, in Queen's County, where Columba's cross and well still exist. The *Book of Durrow*, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, which professes to have been written by Columba himself, furnishes proof of his proficiency as a scribe. His skilful pen involved him in trouble in a singular way. There was another Finnian in Down, whose reputation as scholar and teacher was as great in the North as that of his namesake of Meath was in the centre of Ireland. Columba visited his school and borrowed a Latin Psalter,

which he proceeded to copy. This was resented by Finnian, who claimed the copy as well as the original. The case was referred to Diarmid, King of Meath, who decided against Columba, ruling that as, on the principle of the Brehon law, "to every cow belongs its calf, so to every book belongs its copy." But Columba would not yield. A succession of fights ensued, culminating in the battle of Cooldrevny, in county Sligo, in which Columba's faction won and three thousand of his enemies were slain. He retired to the monastery of Inismurray and sought counsel of the abbot, Molassius, who urged submission, and prescribed as a penance that Columba should go to Pictland, and there convert the pagans to Christ, in return for the scandal he had occasioned and the blood he had shed.

Columba therefore betook himself to Scotland about the year 563, and settled in the island of Iona. Most of the ruins now to be seen in Iona are mediæval, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Benedictine Order superseded or absorbed the old Celtic community. But there are traces of the buildings of Columba's time.

"There was a vallum, or cashel, of mixed stones and earth surrounding the monastery. There were a stone kiln, of which some remains are still to be seen, a mill, and a barn. The monastery proper contained a refectory of considerable size, in which were a fireplace and a stone vessel full of water, probably used for washing the pilgrims' feet. There were then the hospitium, or guest-chamber, of wattles and clay, and the cells or huts of the monks, made of planks and situated round a central court. The church was built of oak, and possessed an exedra, or vestry, while at some distance and upon the highest ground was placed St. Columba's hut of timber."

After a couple of years Columba determined to make an assault upon Pictish paganism in its stronghold, the Court of King Brude at Inverness. Accompanied by Comgall and Canice, old fellow-students at Clonard, he approached the royal residence. The King at first refused to admit him, but subsequently became a Christian. His conversion was followed by that of his people, and Columba was able to found churches and monasteries in every direction. Death overtook Columba in his seventy-sixth year. His biographer gives some touching details of his last hours. He took a tender farewell of the old

white horse that used to carry the milk from the dairy to the monastery. He went to his cell to resume work at a Psalter he was transcribing. When he reached Psalm xxxiv. 10, "Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono," he said, "I must stop here; Baithene will finish the rest." He then sent a last message to his followers, enjoining peace and charity. On the next morning, June 10, 597, he passed away, "with a face," says Adamnan, "calm and sweet, like that of a man who in his sleep had seen a vision of heaven."

The success of St. Columba in Scotland was paralleled by that of another Irishman, St. Columbanus, on the continent of Europe. The materials for a history of Columbanus are found in his own writings, which include monastic rules, sermons, poems, and letters, and in his *Life*, by Jonas, a contemporary. Born in 543, he began his education on one of the islands in Lough Erne, and completed it at the famous school of Bangor, county Down. About the year 585 he began his missionary labours in Gaul. That country had sunk to the lowest moral condition. The Church had been carried away by the general torrent of wickedness, bishops lending themselves to crimes of which heathens might have been ashamed. Columbanus made his way to Burgundy, which was then ruled by Gontran, "the least immoral of the grandsons of Clovis." The King received him cordially, and granted him the old Roman castle of Annegray. This became the seat of the first Irish monastery founded on the Continent. The foundation of Luxeuil and Fontaines followed. The success of these institutions was great, hundreds of children of the noblest Franks and Burgundians being amongst the pupils in attendance. But after twenty years Columbanus was expelled from Burgundy, mainly through the influence of a woman, Brunehault, grandmother of the young King Thierry. He was put on board a vessel at Nantes, to be conveyed to Ireland, but the ship was driven back to the mouth of the Loire, and Columbanus regained his liberty. He spent some time at the Court of Clotaire II., and then resolved to rekindle the fire of the true faith in Northern Italy. He rowed up the Rhine to the Lake of Constance, and founded the monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gall—the latter called after one of his missionary

companions. The hostility of King Thierry having pursued him into Switzerland, he left the work there to be prosecuted by his disciples, and, accompanied by one follower, crossed the Alps into Lombardy. Agilulf, King of the Lombards, treated him with the greatest respect, and gave him the old church and territory of Bobbio. Columbanus restored the church and built a monastery, which was his head-quarters for the rest of his life. He spent his last days, after the fashion of Irish anchorites, in a cavern which he had transformed into a chapel, and died on November 21, 615.

The Irish Church continued its missionary activity long after the days of Columba and Columbanus, but from the beginning of the seventh century its energies became much engaged in resisting the encroachments of the Papal See. The controversy upon the time of celebrating Easter exhibits Rome and Ireland in pronounced antagonism, and Rome's victory on this question may be regarded as the opening of that career of conquest which ended in the twelfth century in the complete subjection of Ireland. The Celtic churches were at one with Western Christendom in observing Sunday as the Feast of the Resurrection. The point in dispute was the time when Easter should fall. In calculating this, the Celts employed the original Christian cycle of eighty-four years. The Church of Rome, in the year 463, adopted the cycle of Victorius and Dionysius Exiguus, which embraced a period of 532 years. Thus it happened that there might be a month of difference between the Easter-tides of the Roman and Irish Calendars. The Celtic churches of Britain also used the old cycle, and this was one of the points on which Augustine demanded, and failed to secure, their submission. But Ireland was the stronghold of the ancient usage, and the followers of Columba its sturdiest defenders. Everything was done, therefore, to persuade Ireland to adopt the new cycle. The South yielded within the first half of the seventh century. The cause of Rome was advocated in Munster by Laserian of Old Leighlin, and opposed by Fintan, a Columban, from Taghmon, near Wexford. Rome had also the valuable support of Cumman, an old Durrowman, who deserted to the foe, and who has left an interesting letter addressed to the Abbot of

Iona. The next victory was won in England, at the Council of Whitby, in 664. Colman of Lindisfarne was the Celtic champion there. After his defeat, he retired from Lindisfarne to the West of Ireland. Scotland and Ulster held out half a century longer, but at last, in 716, Iona itself gave way and adopted the universal Easter rule.

A reference to the Paschal controversy must not lead us to suppose that the Irish Church was of a purely Protestant any more than of a Roman Catholic type. Its condition more nearly resembled a mixture of both systems. But some of what might be called its Roman Catholic elements were Oriental rather than Roman. Two of Dr. Stokes' most interesting lectures are those in which he deals with Ireland's obligations to the East in respect of ecclesiastical discipline and architecture. We have already seen to what an extent monastic life was developed under such men as Columba and Columbanus. The great majority of Irish monks lived in societies and pursued study or practised arts. But a large number were anchorites, leading solitary lives, allowing themselves the barest necessities, and given up to meditation and prayer. Anchorites' residences were scattered all over Ireland, and remains of them are to be found in many places. The oldest are the "beehive cells," met occasionally on the mainland, but most numerous in islands, like Inismurray, off the West coast. Their name suggests their external appearance. The entrance is low and narrow, and closed by a flag tapering inwards and upwards. The interior is circular, or nearly so, and in some there is a stone offset about 2 feet from the floor to serve as a couch for the hermits. "The roofing is formed by the slabs gradually overlapping one another, the courses thus drawing closer, till they are capped by one central flag; the builders being entirely ignorant of the principle of the arch, this was the nearest approach they could make to it." A more recent specimen of a hermitage is presented by St. Doulough's Church, not far from Dublin. "It comprises seven apartments and three stone staircases. The most curious portion is a small cell or chamber at the west end, where the original anchorites lived and in which they were buried. It was the rule, in fact, for the anchorite to

be buried in his cell." So lately as the year 1682 an enclosed anchorite lived at Fore, county Westmeath. The question arises, Whence did Ireland borrow this feature of its monastic life? Dr. Stokes answers, from Egypt or Syria, through France. Ireland and the East had an opportunity of meeting in France as early as the beginning of the fifth century. In the time of St. Patrick, John Cassian, born at Bethlehem, educated among the monks of Syria and Egypt, propagated Egyptian monasticism in the south of France. "Cassian made Egypt so well known in France that whenever a bishop or presbyter desired a period for spiritual retreat and refreshment he retired to Egypt, to seek in Nitria the development of his higher spiritual life." By the year 450, Syrian monasticism flourished, Syrian colonies had taken root, and the Syrian language was extensively spoken in Southern Gaul. That Ireland came into contact with this extension of Oriental life is evident from two circumstances. Lerins, the monastery visited by St. Patrick, was situated in Cassian's district and modelled after his ideas; and Columbanus tells us that, when he was being expelled from France, the only sympathy he received was from a poor Syrian woman at Orléans.

The round towers of Ireland are amongst its most notable historical and architectural objects. Ireland has not an absolute monopoly of such monuments. On the Continent, a few are found in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France. The Irish towers number over a hundred. They are hollow, circular columns, from 50 to 150 feet high, and usually capped by a pointed roof of stone. They measure from 40 to 60 feet round the base, and taper upwards. A single door stands from 8 to 15 feet from the ground, and, while a varying number of windows occur in the course of the structure, there are as a rule four close to the top. Opinions as to the origin and use of these towers were conflicting in the extreme. Dr. Petrie's investigations led him to results which have been substantially accepted by subsequent writers. His conclusions are—(1) That the round towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and date from between the fifth and thirteenth centuries; (2) that they were designed to serve—(a) as belfries, and (b) as keeps, in which

the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics themselves could run in case of attack; (3) that they were probably used also as beacons and watchtowers. The Earl of Dunraven thinks Dr. Petrie's first date is too early; he would refuse them an antiquity beyond the year 800, the period of the Danish invasion. Dr. Stokes is of opinion that the round tower, and, indeed, church towers generally, are of Syrian origin. The earliest Christian churches had no towers; they were simple basilicas. But what neither Greece nor Rome could furnish to Christian architecture, it found in the Hauran. The people of this region acquired the art of adapting the principle of the arch to the construction of buildings wholly of stone. They introduced cupolas and church towers, reared upon pendentives or hemispheres. The first attempt at such a cupola, brought to light by Count de Vogüé, was that of Omne-*ez-tertoun*, dating from 282; and the first instance of a church tower is that of the Church of *Tafkha*, assigned by de Vogüé to the fourth century. Syria was the great school for artists and scholars in the fifth and sixth centuries. From Antioch Justinian drew the architects who reared for him the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople—a church which presented a model to the whole Byzantine or Oriental world. Many other places beside Constantinople profited by Justinian's architectural zeal, and none to a larger extent than the city of Ravenna. In connection with the Church of St. Vitalis and five other churches there the first round towers appeared in Europe. "From Ravenna, Byzantine art spread itself in every direction in the Southern and Central parts of Europe. . . . But the great influx of Byzantine architects and ideas into the West happened in the eighth century, just immediately preceding the period which Lord Dunraven fixes as the date of our own round towers." Painters, sculptors, and architects, driven away by the iconoclastic Emperors, were welcomed at the Court of Charlemagne. Their conceptions were thus brought within reach of Ireland. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries Ireland and France maintained close and frequent intercourse. A French King was educated at Slane; Alcuin, the leader of the scholarship of France,

wrote and sent presents to Colcu, "senior lecturer" of Clonmacnois; and the Litany of Cenghus the Culdee commemorates the settlement in Ireland of continental and Oriental refugees.

The scholarship of the Irish Church was as creditable as its architecture. Mention has already been made of some of the chief seats of learning, such as Clonard, Clonmacnois, and Bangor. Works that have come down to us bear witness to the broad culture of their professors and *alumni*. Aileran was Abbot of Clonard in 660. He wrote on the mystical meaning of the names in our Lord's genealogy, exhibiting, says Lanigan, "besides a great share of ingenuity, very considerable Biblical and theological learning." He was acquainted with Origen, Jerome, Philo, Cassian, and Augustine. To the same century belongs the Irish Augustine, who was long confounded with the Bishop of Hippo. He elucidated difficulties of Scripture, and anticipated modern geology in suggesting that at one time Ireland and Britain formed part of the continent of Europe. Virgil the geometer and Sedulius the commentator flourished towards the close of the eighth century. Virgil was familiar with the writings of the Alexandrian school of mathematicians and geographers. He preached the Gospel in Central Europe, and became first Bishop of Salzburg, but his scientific theories exposed him to the charge of heresy, and he was condemned by the Pope. Sedulius has left us, in addition to his commentaries, a treatise on Government. "In this he discusses the power, conduct, and duties of princes, not in the dry style of a Hugo Grotius or of a Machiavelli, but enlivens every page with Latin verses in various metres, grave and gay." Perhaps the most remarkable Irish writer of this period is Dicuil, whose work, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, was composed about the year 825. His accuracy is wonderful, especially when viewed in the light of the mistakes of such an author as John Malalas of Antioch. His facts regarding Egypt on the one hand and Iceland on the other would make a valuable contribution to a geography lesson in the present day. Johannes Scotus Erigena belongs to a later time. He is so well known, it needs to be said only that he was a Bangor student.

As it is now, so was it a thousand years ago—Ireland's weakest point was politics. Under the old Celtic arrangement, the country was divided into four provincial kingdoms, corresponding roughly to the modern Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and one paramount kingdom of Meath, whose nearest representative is the present diocese of Meath. Curiously enough, this diocese retains certain ecclesiastical prerogatives which are the last traces of the glory of the Kings of Tara. "It is called the premier bishopric of Ireland, and its bishop, though junior in consecration, takes rank before all other bishops." These kingdoms were engaged incessantly in wars and quarrels with one another. In the *Book of Rights* it is solemnly laid down as one of the privileges of the King of Munster that he should be free to burn Northern Leinster and plunder the cattle of Croghan (Roscommon) while the cuckoo sings. Nor was it enough that province should thus attack province. Each kingdom was divided into tribes, and the chiefs of these, imitating their superiors, had their tribal feuds, and thought life and property well spent in maintaining them. The very monasteries, sad to tell, took the field against each other. In 673 Clonmacnois put two hundred of the followers of Durrow to the sword, and as late as 816 four hundred men were slain in a battle between rival monasteries. The Brehon law rather fanned than slaked the flame of strife by constituting every man his own avenger. The Brehons gave judgment, but they were merely arbitrators, without power to enforce their decision. It was no part of the duty of the princes to give the law general effect; they took care of their own rights, and left their subjects to defend theirs. The disunion of Irish society prepared the way for foreign subjugation, and the eighth century brought the first Danish invasion.

The Danes approached Ireland in the year 795. For some time they confined themselves to acts of piracy upon the islands round the coast, such as Inispatrick on the East and Inismurray on the West. But they soon found their way up the rivers, especially the Shannon and the Boyne, and plundered the monasteries along their banks. One of the most distinguished of the Danish leaders was Turgesius, who appeared about the year 831. He was the first who came to

Ireland with a definite purpose of settlement. To him is to be ascribed the credit of the foundation of the city of Dublin. Its broad bay and its central position on the coast commended it to him as an appropriate seat of Danish dominion. But neither Turgesius nor any other Dane was able to establish universal and permanent sovereignty in Ireland. The native kings as a class held their ground though harassed by the invaders, and in the early years of the tenth century they formed a coalition which was strong enough to drive the Danes out of Dublin. Before the ninth century closed, Cormac had begun his brilliant reign as King of Cashel or Munster. As was usual with the members of his dynasty, he was a bishop as well as a king. He was a scholar, too, and wrote a *Glossary*, in which he derives Irish names from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He adorned the citadel of his kingdom, the Rock of Cashel, with some of the buildings still found there. "Cormac's Chapel," says Dr. Stokes, "is the most exquisite extant specimen of Irish architecture, and the man who has not seen it is as yet unacquainted with the most beautiful effort of Irish architectural genius." Cormac was a man of war, and he perished by the sword. He defeated the Kings of Meath and Ossory combined, but an alliance of Leinster and Ulster proved too much for him, and he was slain near the town of Carlow in the year 903.

Danish dominion was revived in Ireland in 919 by Sitric, who won a battle at Rathfarnham, and founded the kingdom of Dublin.

"The Danes added some elements which Celtic life sadly needed. They excelled in domestic architecture. They were wise and courageous rulers and traders too, and rapidly established a vigorous commerce. They were honourable in their commercial transactions. The Dublin Danish merchants paid their debts, and offered peace and security to foreign settlers. The Bristol merchants supplied them with cloth and iron and other commodities, and established a connection with Dublin, which has never since been broken."

In the tenth century the Danes of Dublin embraced Christianity. They afterwards founded the See of Dublin, and built Christ Church Cathedral and St. Mary's Abbey on the other side of the Liffey. The diocese of Dublin to-day

covers the ground of the old kingdom. It extends north to Skerries, south to Arklow, west to Leixlip—and all these are Danish names. Until about fifty years ago the Corporation of Dublin shared with the Church the honour of being representatively Danish. The Lord Mayor was Admiral of the Port of Dublin, and in virtue of this office exercised jurisdiction from Skerries to Arklow. Many places in and around Dublin bear Danish names or commemorate Danish usages. The broad thoroughfare in front of Trinity College is called College Green, anciently Hogges Green. This was the green or place of assembly round the Hogue or Hoga (hill) on which St. Andrew's Church now stands. Here the people gathered to hear the laws proclaimed by their chiefs, as the laws of the House of Keys are still proclaimed from the Tynwald.

But about the time of the foundation of the kingdom of Dublin a man was born destined to give the final check to Danish supremacy. Brian Boru began to reign as King of Munster in 976, and in the course of the next five-and-twenty years exacted submission from all the Irish kings. Though acknowledged King of all Ireland, Brian preferred to reside in his native Munster, and established himself at Kincora, near Killaloe. He cultivated the arts of peace as well as those of war.

"He erected or restored the cathedral of Killaloe, the churches of Iniscaltra in Lough Derg, the round tower of Tomgraney in county Clare. He built bridges over the Shannon at Athlone and Lanesborough, he constructed roads, he strengthened the forts and island fortresses or crannoges of Munster. He dispensed a royal hospitality, he administered rigid and impartial justice, and established peace and order through all the country, so that, as the historian puts it, 'a woman might walk in safety through the length of Ireland carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod.'"

In early life he had subdued the Danes of Limerick and Waterford, and in old age he came into conflict with the Danes of Dublin. Through his conquest of Meath he reached their borders, and they became alarmed. They succeeded in detaching the King of Leinster from his allegiance, and met Brian in Glenmama, the Glen of the Gap, in the Wicklow Mountains. They suffered a severe defeat, leaving King Sitric's eldest son

and four thousand mail-clad warriors dead upon the field. Brian followed up his victory, and made himself master of Dublin. He retired again to Killaloe, and spent the next fourteen years in comparative peace. At the end of this time another King of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin, reinforced by kinsmen from beyond the seas, attacked Malachy, King of Meath. Brian hurried to his aid, and the Battle of Clontarf was fought on April 23, 1014. The rout of the Danes was complete. But the Irish victory was dearly bought. Brian's brave son, Morrogh, was struck down and died the next day. His grandson, Torlogh, was drowned in pursuing the Danes to the sea. Worst of all, Brian himself was slain. He was stationed upon a hill a little distance from the battle, engaging in prayer and receiving reports from his attendants. A Danish chief, Brodar, and two others, in their flight came upon the King. Brodar at first, observing his devotional mien, took him for a priest, but, on being assured by a companion that it was Brian, he raised his battle-axe and cleft the great King's head in two.

Danish influence did much to strengthen the hold of Rome on Ireland. The Danes appear to have derived their Christianity from England. They did not hold communion with the Celtic Christians. After a pilgrimage to Rome, about the year 1040, King Sitric founded the See of Dublin as a rival of Armagh. The first bishop was Donatus. On his death, a successor, Patrick, was chosen by the clergy and people of Dublin, and despatched to Lanfranc of Canterbury to be consecrated. He, however, not only received consecration, but also professed obedience to Lanfranc, being thus guilty of what Dr. Stokes characterizes as "a wholesale betrayal of the liberties of his Church." Another vacancy occurred in 1121. A year before this a Synod had declared all Ireland, except Dublin, subject to the jurisdiction of Armagh. The Primate of the day could not bear that a See in Ireland should be exempted from his sway, and when the bishop died he seized possession of the cathedral of Dublin. But the citizens resented his intrusion, and elected as their bishop a simple layman, Gregory. He lived to see the quarrel with Armagh settled, and the dignity of Dublin at the same

time enhanced. Untiring efforts had been made in the Northern province to secure submission to Rome. Celsus, who was elected bishop in 1106, presided at the national Synods of Usnach and Rathbresail, by which diocesan episcopacy was established throughout Ireland. He was succeeded by the famous Malachy, the friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Malachy retired from the primacy in 1137 in favour of Gelasius, but he continued to labour on behalf of Papal supremacy. His ambition was to win the pall for Ireland that his Church might have an archbishop entitled to rank with the great dignitaries of England and the Continent. Acting upon a suggestion from Rome, he convened the Synod of Holmpatrick in 1148, which adopted a petition for the pall, and commissioned Malachy to bear it to the Pope. Malachy hastened to Clairvaux, where he expected to find the Pope. Before he arrived the Pope had left. Malachy was unable to proceed farther, and died at Clairvaux, leaving his work unfinished. But he had advanced it so far that it was easy to fulfil it. Four years later, in 1152, the Synod of Kells was held under the presidency of Cardinal Paparo, the Papal Legate. The claims of Armagh to universal primacy were admitted; Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam were constituted archiepiscopal Sees, and each of the four archbishops was invested with the pall. Thus Celtic, Danish, and Papal aspirations were satisfied. Rome had acted with her usual wisdom, and achieved her usual success.

"Notwithstanding a sporadic resistance offered here and there, the days of the Celtic Church and its independence were for ever past and gone. Irish national independence and Irish ecclesiastical independence terminated practically together, and their fate was finally sealed when the first (palled) Archbishop of Armagh, Gelasius, visited Dublin in 1172 and made his formal submission to King Henry II."

Dr. Stokes' book will be welcomed by all students of Irish history, and will prove invaluable to those who are making acquaintance with the subject. In no other work is the same amount of information presented in so pleasant a form. The issue of a new edition will furnish an opportunity for remedying some trifling defects. Proper names are not spelt uniformly, and the Index is provokingly incomplete.

ART. V.—THOMAS TWINING.

1. *Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century.* Being Selections from the Correspondence of the Rev. THOMAS TWINING, M.A., Translator of *Aristotle's Poetics*, formerly Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Murray. 1882.
2. *Selections from Papers of the Twining Family: a Sequel to "The Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century,"* by the Rev. THOMAS TWINING, sometime Rector of St. Mary's, Colchester." Edited by RICHARD TWINING. Murray. 1887.

FIFTY years ago the books whose names stand at the head of our paper would have been far less interesting than they now are, because the mode of life that they depict would then have contrasted far less with that which we live in this day of Church congresses, rural-decanal synods, and general, if not feverish activity, inside as well as outside the Established Church.

The view presented in the first of these volumes of a clergyman of the last century is, be it remembered, limited to one particular aspect of his life. The Twining family have always been fond of music and travelling; and it is as a correspondent of Dr. Burney and as a traveller in many parts of England and Wales, not in the least as parish priest or theologian, that we have to do with the Rector of St. Mary's, Colchester. As to his pastoral work, about which not a word is said in all these letters, we willingly accept his brother's testimony that, "in the performance of all the duties of a clergyman, particularly of the most important duties of the minister of a parish, he was exemplary. He never lost sight of the behaviour which became his position. His unaffected piety, the regularity of all the habits of his life, the suavity of his manners, and the serious and excellent manner in which he performed the services of his church—all these circumstances obtained for him the love and confidence of his parishioners." No one will

imagine that Mr. Twining, either at Fordham, of which for many years he had sole charge, or at White Notley and St. Mary's, Colchester, which he held together, felt moved to do for his parishioners what the late Prof. Henslow did for his. Few clergymen, even now, think that they hold their non-theological attainments in trust for their flocks; and, while Mr. Twining was preparing material for his well-known translation of Aristotle, or helping Dr. Burney in his disquisition on "that most difficult of all subjects, the music of the ancients," he would feel no qualms of conscience because such work did not help to keep him in touch with his parishioners. For them "he performed the services in a serious and excellent manner"—more than could be said of many of his contemporaries. To place his music at their disposal as completely as Prof. Henslow did his botanical lore would have seemed to him as much out of place as to take his choir up to London in days when Exhibitions and cheap trips were unknown. What we do get in these letters is the picture of a very lovable man, full of playful humour, so brimming over with geniality that we can well believe his work among his people was, up to his lights, all that a conscientious parson's should have been; and (which is of more general interest) a picture of English travel in the days when "grand old leisure" still ruled as king in country towns and on highways as well as in the quiet out-of-the-way nooks. Moreover, the travels bring us face to face with a cultured Cantab's view of scenery in days when the love of mountains was only gaining ground. Cowper's protest against the unreal way of looking at and talking about Nature was only beginning to bear fruit; and Mr. Twining was somewhat before his time when he could delight in passes like Penmaenmawr, "where the pleasure is mixed and awful."

In the first of these volumes, then, we must remember we have not the record of pastoral work, but of the parson's "recreations and studies"; and, read in this light, the book is such pleasant reading, not least because of the constant contrast it affords to our own times, that we are not astonished at the call for an additional volume. This is chiefly made up of letters from abroad, not by Thomas, but by his brother Richard, who

travelled in the old approved style with his own carriage and servants, and whose sketches of pre-revolution Germany are lively and interesting. He also went about in Wales, and has his own views on Welsh travel. He, too, talks of "the stupendous pass of Penmaenmawr," and asks: "Did you ever roll great stones down precipices? This is just the place to do it; and the vale of Aber is close by, which you should never be guilty of passing." *

This "sequel" contains a very brief sketch of the family, so well known, not only in the tea-trade, but also because of the quiet but effectual philanthropic work of one of the daughters. Close to Tewkesbury is a ferry called Twining's Fleet: and Winchcombe Abbey had John Twining for its abbot in the days of Edward IV. and V. and Richard III. "He raised it to the rank of an University," whatever that may mean. At the dissolution, there was a Twining among the monks pensioned off from Tewkesbury Abbey; and in 1651 a Twining helped to hold Evesham against the Parliament. The founder of the modern family was Thomas Twining, who at the beginning of the last century went up to London and settled in St. Giles's, Cripplegate. He was then doubtless connected in some way with the woollen trade, the staple of his country, and we are not told what led him in 1710 to set up a tea-shop in Tom's Coffee House, in Devereux Court, Strand. As a tea merchant he prospered, and the growing business has gone on on the same site ever since. He soon built Dial House, Twickenham, at which place his son Daniel's son Thomas was put to school, with the view of preparing him for the trade. But the idea made him so unhappy, and his unfitness for the life was so manifest, that he was sent to the Rev. P. Smythies, of Colchester. Here Miss Smythies was his fellow-pupil in Greek and Latin, and, four years after he had been elected fellow of Sidney Sussex College, they were married, and he took the "sole charge" of Fordham. The marriage was in every way happy; "her good sense and cheerfulness rendered her a most excellent companion for my

* Welsh watering-places were very different then from what they are now, and Mr. R. Twining pities the Welsh squires "who leave their big mansions, and for the sake of bathing, submit to be crammed into a mere dog-hole like Abergelle."

brother," says Richard, Thomas being a believer in "Home Rule" for wives, and acting out the precept of Tibullus which he wrote in the first leaf of her account-book :

"Illi sint omnia curae,
Et juvet in totâ me nihil esse domo."

She died in 1796, after twenty-eight years of married life ; and the next year he began his " holiday tour in England and Wales."

Letters must always be more life-like than formal essays ; and in that age of letter-writing people did take the trouble to write real letters. Among the Rev. T. Twining's correspondents is Dr. Hey, Cambridge Norrisian Professor, to whom he sometimes writes in fairly good French—an accomplishment which has always, we fancy, been rare among Fellows of Sidney Sussex. In one of these letters he speaks of a petition signed by a number of clergy to get rid of subscription to the Articles, and to alter the Liturgy. Like a good Tory, he speaks very slightly of the project, laughing at the Rector of Fordham, who had signed ("Voilà, n'y a-t'il pas là un joli petit réformateur?"), and doubting if the plan will go far enough even to furnish a little amusement "à nous autres philosophes qui savons imiter la sagesse de Gallio." He writes, too, to Dr. Burney, from whom to him there is a long letter about the Gordon Riots. Dr. Burney lived in the same street as Justice Hyde, whose house was completely destroyed. The doctor, who had removed his MSS. and valuable books to a friend's house, thinks "the Oliverian and Republican spirit is gone forth, and religion is a mere pretence for subverting the Government and destroying the Constitution." In reply, Mr. Twining quotes the old Lucretian "*Suave mari magno*;" explaining that "I haven't tasted a bit more of this sugar than just what self has crammed into my mouth whether I would or no. Write at once and tell me how you all have weathered this horrid storm. Good God ! what a scene. For my part I believe I shall never get my hair out of the perpendicular again as long as I live ! At this time of day, and in a philosophic enlightened age, as it is called ! What punishment is too much for an endeavour to inflame a people with

religious animosities? Especially when that kind of spirit has long been quietly laid, and mankind in general, if left to themselves, have little or no propensity to that most horrible of all vices called zeal (p. 85). . . . If it had not been for the army what would have become of us? It is still inconceivable to me how so much mischief has been done, considering that a small number of armed men, with proper resolution, could I suppose disperse very soon the largest unarmed mob. Now I'll lay you a wager—I beg pardon, I pledge myself—that when the House meets you'll have fine orations against calling in the military, martial law, &c." He laughs at "the civil power," "the power that will be civil to a mob," and hopes (p. 87) that "the examples that have been made and will be made will keep all quiet." "I do think we are the most discontented, ill-humoured, black-blooded, unthankful people upon earth, and deserve to be ruled with a rod of iron. In nine out of ten of us our boasted love of liberty is nothing but the hatred of liberty in others and the desire of tyranny for ourselves. Your true Englishman is never so happy as under a bad government. A perfect administration, could the experiment be tried, would dislocate with ennui the jaws of above half of His Majesty's good subjects. Nay, they would make grievances, though an angel were minister and an arch-angel king. . . . As to toleration, we are children yet; the very word proves it. Religious liberty can never be upon its right footing while that word exists. Tolerate! it is a word of insult. The world, if it last some thousand years longer, will begin perhaps to find out the folly and mischief and inutility of paying any regard to each others' opinions and principles as such;—that they have nothing to do but with action and conduct. Here are a parcel of fanatical persecuting Papal Protestants who would treat all the Papists in the kingdom as bad subjects and dangerous men, because they would be so if their conduct was perfectly consistent with the spirit of their religion, or rather what was once the spirit of it. It is curious to reflect, or rather would be if it were not shocking, that if the populace had not been opposed, in all probability the massacre of Paris would have been acted over again by Protestants in the massacre of London! No; Christianity does

not give any sort of encouragement to the cutting one another's throats; but I know this, that the Papist who cuts throats upon religious principle, bad and mistaken as it is, has less to answer for than the Protestant, who does it in direct repugnance to all principle, religious and moral." The above gives those who read between the lines a thorough insight into the writer's character. He is on the level of his age; certainly not above it. To the subject of liberty both he and his brother return in subsequent letters. He, Dr. Hey, and a Yorkshire friend "are in perfect unison that there never can be any peace or quiet in the world till the word liberty is entirely abolished and expunged from all languages. I do really think that no word ever did mankind so much harm." * Writing on the French Revolution, he wishes the king had escaped at Varennes; but he can't quite believe Louis's asseveration that he did not mean to go out of the kingdom: "it may be consistent with his intention of joining his party, for which purpose he would not have had to do more than go to a fortified place near the frontier. What he says about resisting invasion puzzles me most." The king's death he stigmatizes as "a deed of complicated injustice, cruelty, and folly." "Burke," he thinks, "pushes some things a little too far; yet his book is in the main right, solid, and irrefragable, meant to oppose and disgrace the wild and dangerous principles of modern reformers, revolutionists, and triers of confusion." These specious but false theories of government, he thinks, are due to Locke, "who in his famous treatise sowed the first seeds of this madness." Of the charge against Marie Antoinette he remarks: "Her real character I do not know; nor can we say what is or is not

* His remarks about the Treason and Sedition Bills (1795) are characteristic. Their opponents he takes to be "people anxiously wishing to promote general confusion, or people willing to risk such confusion to get into place. Our Bills of Rights, &c., were meant to make us better, *i.e.*, happier. Could our ancestors have foreseen that their descendants would use a part of those rights and liberties to overthrow the Constitution itself; would they have secured to us so many rights and so much liberty? . . . Even in Parliament the doctrine of resistance has been preached; and much ingenuity and industry have been exerted to prevent the Bills from answering the end intended, if they should pass. I hope Mr. Pitt will be firm and successful. That way we have some chance; the other we have none."

possible to the corruption of human nature; but will any man in his senses believe this story upon the faith of the unprincipled and murderous villains from whom we have it? It is too shocking to talk of." He is indignant that Whig magnates should be the avowed correspondents of men like Brissot: "the Tower opens its gates wide for some of these corresponding lords and gentlemen." Yet he strongly deprecates the idea of going to war, "because we are angry." He can't imagine the French had any design to attack us. His consolation he finds in the thought that "our rulers know more than we know. But then, I ask myself again and again, and am at a loss for an answer, 'if they do know more than has yet appeared, is it not natural to suppose they would produce these stronger reasons for their own justification?'" Meanwhile he preaches for the French priests, getting twenty guineas, "the best collection in Colchester," and the closing passage in his sermon may be quoted as an instance of his style at its best: "Lastly, let us in the true spirit of Christianity, recommend, not ourselves only, but even our enemies also, to the merciful protection of that Almighty Being who judgeth among the nations; who alone can hide us from the gathering together of the froward and from the insurrection of evil doers; who stilleth the raging of the sea, and what is still more calamitous in its effects, and almost as much beyond human power to set bounds to—the madness of the people." His pity—"Oh, poor France! and poor king of France! what shall we say to them now?"—does not hinder him from enjoying his autumn holiday. In 1792 he took Mrs. Twining a driving tour by way of Matlock for a third visit to Yorkshire. Their first route had been by Huntingdon, where they slept. Next day dined at Stamford; but, as it rained, left Burleigh for the return, and slept at Colsterworth, and admired Grantham spire, "as new-looking as if it was kept all the week in a band-box."

It is delightful to note how each time he finds fresh beauties in this part of the West Riding. Round Todmorden, "the wild tumbled ground, a perpetual wave of smaller hills, where Nature seems to have abhorred a level as much as according to some she abhors a vacuum, and where cottages are perched about in the most romantic and improbable situa-

tions, more like stone nests than houses," throws him into ecstasies. Coming down from Huddersfield into Ealand, "the little falls in the river producing a perpetual rustle of water, and the effects varying at every bend of the road, a little gleam of sunshine, through an opening cloud at the extremity of a long vale on the left, came stealing along, till by degrees the whole valley and the town were illuminated, part of the surrounding hills still remaining in shade and forming a sort of black frame to this bright picture. I never felt anything so fine. I shall remember it and thank God for it as long as I live. I am sorry I did not think to say grace after it." Round Huddersfield and Thornhill Edge, more and steeper hills, but the whole way if possible more beautiful, though in rather a different style. Then by way of Bank Top, to Sheffield ("Sootland; I never saw so black a place"). Then eighteen miles to Worksop before breakfast; this was his usual plan, but it did not always answer. In the present instance "the road was so execrable that we were tired, sick, and discouraged, and had not spirit even to go through the parks. But to say the truth the great scenes of Nature that I had been seeing left me very indifferent about houses and parks, and even in a great measure about pictures." And so they saw nothing of "the Dukeries" and Sherwood Forest; and, finding that "Nottinghamshire has few natural beauties," they got back to Newark, and this time did not miss Burleigh. Soon after his return he ejaculates: "Oh! this green trencher of a country called Essex, where we think it a sublime thing to look over one hedge and see another. Well, thank God, it is not Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, nor Huntingdon." On this first visit, too, he liked the Yorkshire people as much as he did their scenery: "I find whether we stay an hour or a month with them they are never incommoded. I envy them their style of easy hospitality still more than their prospects or their coals." On his second visit he saw Studley and other show places round Harrogate; but what struck him most was a bit of the Calder Valley, where, "over Hepton (now Hebden) Bridge, on the top of a monstrous hill, is perched the town of Heptonstall, the road up to it having the appearance of an absolute perpendicular." The third journey was made by way of

Dunstable, Northampton, Bitteswell, where he and Mrs. Twining made a long stay with Mr. Powell, "the Pastor and his Pastorella," getting a good deal of music (of course he had his fiddle with him). Here he noted the difference, which must have been striking in the England of that day, between an enclosed, and therefore "clothed," village like Claybrook, and Bitteswell, which, being unenclosed, was "as bare as if some demon had brushed away all the hedges, trees, and plantations with his great elbow." Herein our country still contrasts disadvantageously with some parts of the Continent; public spirit in Western Germany, for instance, has here and there planted almost every "commune" with trees, the timber and fruit of which not only help to pay the rates but in many cases yield a surplus. In England there were but few instances of planting until by enclosure the land had become private property. It is strange to find not a word about the Northamptonshire churches, with their broach-spires and long chancels. The county contains two Eleanor Crosses, and several specimens of that "long and short" building which is set down as "Saxon;" but of these Mr. Twining is silent, as he is of the curious churches in Northampton itself. His verdict simply is "the town likes me well; we breakfasted there and walked about. 'Tis one of the neatest and handsomest I ever saw. Went to the new hospital." From Northampton, by way of Leicester and Derby, to Matlock, of which he says to his brother: "You know it; so I am happily released from attempting description that describes nothing." Yet he tells him how he and his wife scaled the heights of Abraham. "It was bold for Mrs. Twining at least; but, thank God, she was quite bonny, and we actually performed the feat. I am a stranger to mountains, and never yet seemed so ballooned and above the globe as in ascending this great hill, for your mountaineers, I suppose, will allow it no other name. If it is not sublime from its height, it is, however, from its steepness. . . . We were at Saxton's, not Mason's. You know my maxim of preferring secondary houses to first. Everybody goes to Mason's; now, everybody is a body that I never wish to meet. . . . Surround me with 'good company,' a crowd of ladies and gentlemen, and Matlock itself becomes worse than Hockley-in-the-Hole. But when you view these things in

quiet, nothing so soothes a sorrowing mind, nothing so conduces to perfect complacency, and therefore to benevolence." Elsewhere he speaks of "one of the greatest comforts of travelling, the being known to nobody," and declines an introduction to some one at Nottingham, "unless there is anything curious there which could not possibly be got at without his help." When he got back his horses seemed "much better for the business they had done. Mrs. T., too, is jollified, and wholesomely embrowned." What a picture all this gives of England as it was; what a contrast between Matlock with its two hotels and the Heights of Abraham, a climb a little less noteworthy than one of the minor Alps is now, and the Matlock into which trip trains disgorge their crowds, while the said Heights are thronged, and the fern-caves are littered with sandwich-papers and corks and broken bottles. While we are on the subject of scenery, it will be well to pass over several years, and to see what our writer says of that Wales, of which he had so often talked, and which his brother had seen some years before. There an eye, *blasé* of Yorkshire dales and moors and "edges," might well hope for something startling. "I am tired," he says, when chaffing his brother about the likeness of Continental scenery to that which he had seen at home, "of this little variety of combination where the materials are the same. Give me a country where the trees grow bottom upwards, or where men converse by blowing their noses in different tones, or express violent grief by a horse-laugh, and cry when they are merry." He went to Wales to see his friend Mr. Hughes, of Llanvorog, near Ruthin, in 1797, the year after his wife's death, of which event, by the way, the letters do not contain a single word, so carefully have purely domestic matters been excluded in the selection. The hills near Llangollen were the steepest he had ever encountered; his servant's horse, which had light web-traces fastened to it for the purpose, was every now and then fastened to the chaise-shafts. He at once plunges into Welsh legends—his landlady telling him about Corwena and the two giant brothers, "whose story is very fine in the Welsh"—and into Welsh consonant-changes, noting how Voel Vama is, by what rule he cannot learn, altered from Moel Mama. He hears a sermon in Welsh, and is "much gratified at the sound of the venerable language; it

was not at all harsh or uncouth to my ear; the gutturals were soft, *dérobés*, and inoffensive." After twelve days of "charming little excursions," he and the Hugheses and some other friends set off on a driving and riding expedition. He has with him his nephew Daniel, and at the second stage meets brother Richard and his son. Llanrwst strikes him as "like Matlock on a far grander scale;" but his complaint that the bleak, barren hills make the drive dreary and comfortless shows that he was not fully alive to the charms of wild scenery. The waterfalls delight him immensely. He sits close by, "the noise seeming to grow louder and louder, and the water more and more angry. There is something very fine in the sensation of being perfectly safe while death is staring you in the face within an inch of your nose. It is sweet to sit and see others in danger while you are safe, but it is sweeter to see the danger that nobody is in so near as to give you the feel of being in it yourself, while this imaginary and voluntary terror is immediately turned into pleasure by the consciousness of perfect safety. Even a Twining may face danger in this manner" (he was always twitting the family with being altogether unheroic, as where he says he had to fight his way through his classics at college *proprio Marte*, "the only sort of Mars that a Twining is constructed to have anything to do with").*

This tour took eleven days, and it is curious in these railroad times to note our author's lament over the hurry—"to have seen all comfortably, sufficiently, and quietly would have required three weeks or a month." "Intemperance in sight-seeing" he takes to be as great a mistake as intemperance in other things; but then he was soon satisfied: "all entertainments are too long for me. Music has been, and is, one of the greatest charms of my life, and nothing has fatigued me oftener." At Conway he hears a good harper, having at other places been "pestered with modern tunes, ill-played upon a harsh, noisy instrument. The playing affected me even to

* It is hardly fair to stigmatize as cowardice his hasty chaise-journey to Cambridge in November 1803, on the alarm of a French invasion. His nephew Daniel was in residence, and so the widower needed little extra inducement for what became a very pleasant visit, described in two very pleasant letters.

tears; it would not at all have this effect on me in England." Near Bethgelert he is delighted at coming upon a lovely valley, "of which we had never heard before." And then follows a diatribe against "Sir Tasteless Seeall, and tourists who travel with a catalogue in their pockets of things to be seen." Back at Llanvorog, he enjoys "the luxury of being quiet; of sitting still and letting pleasure come to one instead of having to run after it. Some philosophers make the happiness of Heaven consist in 'sitting still and wanting nothing, motion implying imperfection.' However, in a day or two I found myself as human and imperfect and as ready to encounter the inconvenience of travelling for the sake of its pleasures as I ever was." In all this tour, in which he notices the old-world look of the Welsh shops, "though Shrewsbury is so near at hand," and puts in a protest against Milton's "trim gardens," preferring the wilder grounds of the Welsh parsonages, he says not a word about the spiritual state of the people, their feelings towards the Established Church, &c. One must not decry as superficial what was never meant to be anything else; but it is certainly strange that in the intimacy of correspondence with a brother we do not find a word about the inner life of the people. Even brother Richard is less reticent on this point. He remarks, for instance, that intemperance is out of fashion in Wales; "they warned me not to take a second glass of ale, adding, 'it's stronger than you think.'" He notices that "Parson Evans spoke English with the whine of his native language." He "reads Mason's *Caractacus* in Mona amid scenery which belied the poem." Richard's journey home was not at all in his brother's leisurely style. He drove back to Isleworth without stopping, except to change horses, thirty-five hours on end; "felt the first hundred miles very much, but got strong as I went on." Thomas, travelling slowly as usual, got to Lichfield, and, hearing his old friend Archdeacon Egerton Leigh was in residence, he determined to play him a trick, which is best described in his own words: "As soon as I had dined, I called and refused to send in my name. He came to me into the passage, peering and scowling at me with his hand over his eyes, as much as to say, 'What can the fellow want?' I made him a sneaking bow. 'Sir, I hope

no offence, sir. Knowing the benevolence of your character, and your generous disposition, I take the liberty to wait upon you. I am a clergyman, sir, and in distress, as you may see, sir, by my coat.' 'Oh, sir, indeed I can't. I have many such applications as this; but I know nothing of you, and I never attend—I make it a rule—' 'Sir, excuse me, but knowing your character for learning, and particularly, sir, your skill in the Greek language—' 'Oh, sir, that is all—I know nothing of the matter—' 'I thought I might take the liberty to solicit your encouragement for a little [pulling papers out of my pocket] treatise I have written, sir; the title of it, sir, is *τί ἐστὶ σοὶ τοῦνομα*; [referring to a circumstance of our college life which I took it for granted would open his eyes]. He replied: 'No, sir, indeed, I can't say anything to it. You must excuse me.' 'Sir, I am very sorry. I thought that as I once had the pleasure of knowing you—' 'Knowing me, sir? Indeed I don't know you.' I then smiled, said nothing, but held out my hand. He would not take it, but shrunk back, and declared he had not the least knowledge of me. Then at last, 'What!' quoth I, 'don't you know Twining?' I shall never forget his change of countenance. Nothing could answer better than my trick; it was a fine dramatic *ἀναγνώρισις*." The inscription on Garrick's monument in Lichfield Cathedral he strongly objects to, because "it commemorates his dramatic powers. . . . When a man's good qualities are enumerated on his tomb it must always be understood as saying, 'As he was a good man, we hope he has gone to heaven;' but the idea of his being the more likely to go to heaven for his dramatic powers is perfectly absurd." For Garrick he professes the profoundest admiration; but in 1782 he tells his brother that he has not read a word about Mrs. Siddons, and is sick of the cant of theatrical criticism. Richard is freer in giving his opinion: thinks that "Kemble will improve as 'Hamlet.' He did badly his 'angels and ministers of grace'—was too laboured and mouthing. But the Closet Scene was exquisite, and so was that where he enjoins secrecy on the players." This Richard was an active man of business—added to his other cares the duties of East India director; Thomas often

laughingly scolds him for working too hard—"it is not for the good of the family that your life should be shortened." He also frequently helps him in his Latin. Richard at sixteen was taken from Eton to manage the Strand shop for his widowed mother. He brought with him an intense love of classics; used to send Thomas Virgil translations to be corrected. Heyne's notes, "ten times harder than anything in Cicero," he found troublesome; but Thomas recommended them as "good, useful, rough exercise." His own love of quiet he often contrasts with Richard's "love of a bustle." He quizzes him for studying not classics only but Warton, "which I think would be too much for me," and a black-letter Chaucer. "What a painstaking, thorough-paced, thorough-stitched man you are when you set about anything! I never read a black-lettered book in my life. And then, you've read all Juvenal and all Quintilian." Despite his quizzing, he had an unlimited admiration for the head of the house. In one of his last letters he says, with an unusual display of feeling: "As to your earnestness in whatever active part you do take, I heartily wish every part of your constitution were as good as that. . . . Keep your heart where it is and what it is. And whenever it pushes you into a crowd don't be ashamed of it, but go on, and look back with a smile of pity upon us idle fellows gaping and stretching on our beds of roses." This brother's foreign tour was begun in August 1781. The party took boat at Margate for Ostend; thence by barque to Bruges, where Richard talks much of the supposed Michael Angelo Virgin and Child, "said to have been captured" (others say shipwrecked) "on its way to England. Lord Leicester" (it was really Horace Walpole) "offered £4,000 for it." He also mentions the bronze-gilt tombs of Charles the Bold and his daughter Mary, and the burial-place of Van Eyck; but he does not seem even to have heard of the wonderful paintings of Hans Memling in the Hospital of St. John, nor at Ghent does he say a word about Van Eyck's "Adoration of the Lamb." At Tongres he turns to his Cæsar, and talks of Atuatuca. Liège was then under the mild rule of the prince bishops, which, despite many bloody revolutions, lasted till 1794. The place was a paradise of priests; "the bishopric is a grand piece of

preferment, £25,000 a year. The bishop is chosen out of their own body by the seventy Trefoniers (canons of St. Lambert), who must all be of noble birth, with ever so many quarterings." Stavelot, near Spa, belongs far more than Liège to the old order of things. The very memory of its prior, who kept a dozen soldiers (the Liège army was 1,000), and who (says Richard) "ranked higher than the prince bishop, though he need not be of noble birth," has passed away. Neither he, nor the Coo Cascade into which the crowd of beggars used to fling dogs to amuse the tourists, are even mentioned in Murray. At Spa Richard found that the ladies all paint, and sit their horses astraddle; and at balls frizzle their hair and use brown powder. It is not an edifying society. The most striking figure is the Baron de Haindel, from Strasburg, who wears diamond and amethyst buttons on his absurdly fashioned coat, has a Circassian mistress, and servants who show their dignity by wearing three watches, and who drives and rides up and down the crowded streets at full speed. Then there is the Apostolic Nuncio, "fat, with sinister eyes, always laughing, and playing cards morning, noon, and night." A public breakfast, given by Prince Henry of Prussia, atoned to Richard Twining for the undesirableness of much of the company. He also talked over with Major Parsons the early scenes of the American War, hearing how, on the eighteen days' march to Bunker's Hill, the men went mad with the heat, being forced to travel by day for fear of ambushes. One lady, Richard, who has a penchant for pretty women, goes into raptures about the daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt: "She has one of the most dangerous dimples I ever saw. If the Prince of Wales would make her a good husband, I wish he would marry her. If he was not to prove good to her, I'd never swear allegiance to him." At Cologne he goes to see nothing but the ugly Rubens representing Peter crucified head downwards. But he begins at once to admire the Rhine; on which, when he has seen it at St. Goar, his verdict is: "I never saw anything so fine. The Rhine will become the chief object of my affections, though the tolls counteract the benevolent intentions of Nature." At Hanau not a word about Barbarossa, but a good deal about an innkeeper, who, having come in for a

fortune, prefers keeping on the paternal inn because it gives him a lot of company, "the worthy among whom he solemnly salutes on both cheeks." He is astonished that the Rhineland peasants offered grapes "and expected no *douceur*"; he is yet more astonished at the waltz which he sees danced at Frankfort after dinner (two o'clock): "you'd think they were going to wrestle." At Frankfort, too, he sees a ballet, "the sort of thing which is ruining the singing in operas." At Antwerp, which was then "a Marquisate of the Holy Roman Empire," the Emperor was trying to get up an East Indian Company, "which I fear may be prejudicial to us by stocking that market to which our smugglers resort." So it proved, till Pitt's Commutation Act changed the cent. per cent. duty on tea for a window tax, *plus* an *ad valorem* tea duty of from $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound. This ruined the Dutch smugglers, and enabled the Twinings "to drive a roaring trade," which got so firmly established that it was not shaken when, by-and-by, the tax came to be replaced, owing to the great expenses of the war, and lasted till free trade was forced upon the Chinese. He had a peep at Heyne, "who began life as a weaver, and till he was twenty-nine knew not Virgil even by name." The great man, to whom he promised a copy of his brother's *Aristotle*—a gift which called forth the ponderous Latin letter published in vol. i.—was at Göttingen, lecturing in German about ancient painting to only ten students! Like a good brother, he boasts of the *Aristotle*, and begs Heyne to speak well of it, and thinks he has induced him to do so, "for men are biassed, if ever so impartial, by such courtesy." At Hanover he had the pleasure of seeing a good deal of the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge: "is not it a fine thing to have a young prince with a star hanging on to your arm?" The princes are remarkably courteous, giving due honour to the house of Twining. Mrs. Twining is shown the library and the "prancing creams," and she and her husband dine (at two P.M.) with the princes, "all being quiet and methodical, not like the English hurry." Here they meet Professor Schlöger's daughter, who had anticipated these modern days by being a Ph.D., passing in anatomy, natural philosophy, music, and eight languages, and being, moreover, an adept in dressmaking. Nor does he neglect

scenery. Here is what he says of the neighbourhood of Spa: "It seems as if Nature, apprehensive that her character might suffer from the insipidity of Flanders, was determined to give here an ample proof of her creative powers. Mountains are seen on every side varying in shape and feature. . . . Narrow valleys and deep glens may be discovered from many points; and the cheerful town of Spa is often a most pleasing addition to the scene. . . . Not far off a part of the mountain boldly thrusts itself forward and affords a most noble prospect. . . . In fact, the principal produce of the ecclesiastical prince of Stavelot, whose territory we soon enter on our way to the Cascade of Coö, appears to be prospects" (vol. ii. p. 30).

At Spa he just missed, to his great regret, meeting the Emperor (son of Maria Theresa), about whom he cannot resist telling the following story: "While he was there the Duchess of Chandos recommended him to marry, and advised the Princess Royal of England. 'Too young,' said the Emperor. 'Oh! not at all; I'm many years younger than the duke, and yet we live very happily together.' 'Different religions!' 'Nowadays nobody attends to religion in matters of that sort.' The Emperor smiled." After seeing the Jews' quarter at Frankfort he reflects: "Strange that so numerous a people (as the Jews), many of them residing in the most polished parts of Europe, should neither enjoy an equality with their fellow creatures nor have to all appearance the most distant prospect of acquiring it. . . . Such of them as have had the benefit of a liberal education (he may mean Moses Mendelssohn, who died a few years before) have in general reaped full advantage from it."

Love of scenery and travelling were, however, in this family, not confined to one generation. In 1834 Richard the second is at Hanover, and has a long talk with the Viceroy, the very Duke of Cambridge by whom his father had been hospitably received nearly half a century before. His letters to Richard the third, the compiler of these volumes, giving him the whole course of his travels abroad, form the pleasantest part of the "sequel." The volume is made up with a letter or two from Thomas, son of the eldest Richard, a "writer" in the East India Company's service, who in 1794 "interviews the Great Mogul in his

glory." There is also a letter from Preston, son of a Westmoreland innkeeper who had entertained the Pretender on his way to Derby. For thirty years he had been bookkeeper to the Twinings; and, "indifferent to holidays, caring little for amusements, not grumbling at long hours despite the smallness of his salary, he found his sole relaxation in the Westmoreland Society, and his comfort in putting his savings into short annuities for himself and his sister." After his retirement he was for some time worried with the fear that the annuities would cease before the lives had dropped. The firm set him at ease on this point; and then he lived cheerily on in his native air till fourscore years and ten. His account of his journey to Westmoreland, *vid* Bath and Bristol, partly by mail, partly by post, shows more clearly than even the Twining letters do, the very different conditions of travel at the end of the last century.

Besides this, the volume contains some of Thomas's Latin poems, of which he was proud, and yet more of his apologies for that inertness which is contrasted with his brother's activity. His brother's letters he calls "letterlings"; and says, "why I write seldom is not because the intention is hard, but the obligation. I will not be forced to write; but when I write I write."

Richard, active in travels as in all things, made (his grandson tells us) twelve tours, going on horseback with saddlebags &c., till he married, when he sat up a phaeton and a pair of ponies. His son made eight, going through France as far as Chartres when he was eighty!

Richard reciprocated in equal measure the affection of his clergyman brother. He worries himself about the preface to the *Aristotle*, and whether "abilities and utility" is too great a jingle. He shares his brother's feelings about France: "I can't comprehend what those French liberty boys are about." He enjoys an evening during which Mason and Bishop Hurd were "snubbing and snapping at each other"; and he records with manifest zest a saying or two of "the ponderous Dr. Parr:" "The name of Twining has long been endeared to my mind by the intellectual and moral excellences of the persons to whom it belonged"; and "I should like to bear a direct

and luminous testimony to the transcendent merits of your brother's *Aristotle*."

There is little more to tell. Both brothers had in their quiet way a great affection for their mother; both were fond of a joke. Thus Parson Thomas, in a letter of advice to his nephew at college, says: "It is a wide and common field, the fences now (I fear) almost all thrown down, and even while they remained they were easily climbed over. To stand firmly a man must have the *muris aeneis* in his own heart; and so as much brass in your inside, and as little in your face (my dear) as you please. I think in college it used to be the fashion in my time to wear it chiefly upon the face." And when Richard tells him he saw their crest on the chariot of a Pembroke-shire gentleman named Twinning, he replies: "I see now what it is in my blood that makes me so immoderately fond of toasted cheese, and onions which are akin to leeks." His fun reminds us of Cowper's in his lighter moods. He and Dr. Burney, chatting in letters, discussing whether the dialogues in the Greek plays were not sung in recitative, and whether in a song the words should or should not be distinct, and the relative merits of the harpsichord and the newly introduced piano, are always amusing. Thomas Twining gets from the Doctor all the gossip about Dr. Johnson's death—how Sir J. Hawkins would not have a public funeral, because it would cost a little more, "a few pounds to the prebendaries, and about ninety pairs of gloves to the choir, &c."; and "because Dr. Johnson had no music in him." He attacks Johnson for "seeing no promise in Milton's juvenile poems, and feeling no beauties in Mr. Gray's odes." For Gray he has a Cambridge man's enthusiasm, and "cannot understand how any one not utterly bovine and prejudiced should scout Gray's 'Bard,' and yet pronounce Dryden's 'Ode on the Death of Anne Killigrew' to be the noblest in our language." Pope's *Homer*, he is sure, Johnson overrates; yet Cowper's *Homer* he pronounces "sometimes flat, queer, and dry. Pope has risen with me since I began to compare the two." One is glad to find him praising Milton's prose. Of the passage on liberty in the *Areopagitica*, he says: "Read this whole tirade aloud, it is something beyond writing. I had it

once by heart, and I remember spouting it abroad in Twickenham Park to my father and Sir J. Hawkins." Lord Chesterfield he duly detests: "What pages of trite trifling stuff for now and then a little wit. And his immoral advice one may dislike, not as *homme de Dieu*, but as *homme d'homme*."

Among the very few hints of his religious feeling, is his agreeing with Bishop Butler, that "Prayer is a dutiful direction of the mind to God as present." Of his relations to his flock, there is next to nothing. Here is the account of a tithe-dinner: "I rode to Notley to dine with some four-and-twenty farmers, for which I made them pay me £100. It was fairly worth the money." We have already noticed his superficiality; to this must be added a want of insight. He advises his brother (in August 1786) to see the Bastille, without a suspicion of the fate which was in store for that building; neither has the brother, at Pau or elsewhere, any inkling how near at hand is the break-up of the society which so disgusted him; yet he has a John Bull's desire to see the French fleet well thrashed. The same feeling which drew his mind towards mountain scenery, led him to admire Percy's *Reliques*; "Balow my babe," he sets far above Simonides' "Danae." And it also made him certain that Chatterton did not wholly invent the Rowley poems, but "found some old fragments which gave him ideas. . . . I find them full of genius, with touches here and there that Mr. Gray would not have been ashamed of." Addison, on the other hand, he holds to be an indifferent poet, and destitute of that philosophic turn which is necessary to the best criticism—a popular critic "with a lamentable shallowness, which is seen when we have read Locke, Hume, Helvetius, &c." Pindar ("not Peter") he holds to be "very unequal, often very tiresome, very obscure, and, to us moderns, very uninteresting."

Enough has been said to enable us to form a tolerable idea of the Fordham and Colchester life, with the quiet domesticity, the musical parties, and the eager, if partial, interest in the great outside world. People sneer at the "deadness" of the Georgian Age; and certainly there are in these volumes very few signs of spirituality. But what the Bishop of Southwell said not long ago about the disadvantages, moral and intellectual, of a man set down for life in a small country

parish, was far truer in that age of slow communication and restriction in intercourse. It is greatly to Thomas Twining's credit to have kept at such a comparatively high level. We may even wish that all country parsons nowadays, even all ex-fellows of colleges, showed as keen and intelligent an interest in anything as our author did in music and travel. Sydney Smith once complained that he was becoming a holy vegetable. It was a strange complaint, whichever word we think of, for Sydney Smith to make. To a good many in these times one fears that the substantive alone is applicable; one may vegetate, and yet be wholly worldly. Mr. Twining was as reticent about his work and his calling as he was about his affections. Nor would we wish it otherwise, for in this worldly age, it is well to be reminded that a man may be spiritual without always having spiritual phrases in his mouth.

ART. VI.—THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF SOUTH INDIA.

IT is well known that India was a highly civilized country when the inhabitants of Britain were barbarians. Its literature, which still commands the admiration of scholars, carries us back to a higher antiquity than the oldest literary monuments of Greek or Roman greatness, and finds no parallel in our remote island of the West till long after India felt the infirmities of decline. It is perhaps not so generally known that India's traditions point to the coming of Christianity within her borders at a date at least as early as its coming into Britain, and that the Church which was planted there in those far-off times, though never large enough to influence the population as a whole, still exists on the mountain slopes and in the valleys of Malabar. The legend of St. Paul's mission to Britain has its counterpart in the legend of St. Thomas's to India. The story goes that this Apostle of our Lord, having landed on an island in the lagoon near Cranganore, planted seven churches on the coast of Malabar, like the seven

churches of the Apocalypse; that he went to Mailapur in the neighbourhood of what is now Madras, and converted the king and all the people; that he extended his journey as far eastward as China with like results; and that, on returning to Mailapur, he excited by his successes the jealousy of the Brahmans, who stirred up the people to stone him, after which he was thrust through with a lance.

This tradition may be accepted as not altogether unhistorical, if we eliminate the apostolical element, which seems to have no foundation in fact. For whence came the suggestion of an apostolical origin for the Indian Church? Through a long series of ecclesiastical writers, who have repeated it one after another, it is ultimately traceable to the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. But the Indian geography of these books is far from satisfactory. They bring two of the Apostles to India, and this is what the author says about St. Bartholomew's India: "Historians declare," he gravely tells us, "that India is divided into three parts, and the first is said to end at Ethiopia, and the second at Media, and the third completes the country; and the one portion of it ends in the dark, and the other in the ocean. To this India, then, the holy Bartholomew, the Apostle of Christ, went."* The author of the *Acts of Thomas* does not commit himself to a demarcation of the country, and there seems no other clue to the whereabouts of St. Thomas's India than the name of the king, which is given as Gundaphorus. Some light has been recently cast on the subject by a set of Indo-Scythian coins, from which it has been ascertained that there was a race of Bactrian kings, one of whom bore the name of Gandophares. But, assuming the identification to be complete, it only serves to show how vaguely the name of India was used by ecclesiastical writers, and how little dependence can be put on such narratives. A better illustration of this could hardly be found than the story of Pantæus's visit to India in 190 A.D. It was, according to the story, St. Bartholomew's India that he visited, and from the circumstance that he found among the people a copy of the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, which the Apostle had given

* *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (T. & T. Clark), vol. xvi. p. 429.
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them, it is evident that they must have been a Semitic, not an Indian race. The same consideration applies to the signature appended to the decrees of the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., by John, Metropolitan of Persia and India Maxima, and makes it doubtful whether it is *our* India that is meant. We seem, in fact, shut up to the conclusion that the voice of veracious history as distinct from that of vague tradition is silent on the coming of Christianity to India until we come down to the sixth century.

I.

The first unequivocal testimony to the existence of a Christian Church in India is that of Cosmas, an Alexandrian merchant, who having sailed the Indian seas, was surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian voyager. Retiring from business to the leisure of a monastery, he wrote a book with the view of proving a hopeless thesis about the form and dimensions of the earth. In the midst of a vain attempt to prove that the earth is a vast oblong plane, the length being double the breadth, he occasionally introduces valuable facts. Writing in 547 A.D., he states that "the whole world is filled with the knowledge of the Lord Christ," that in the island of Ceylon and in Malabar there is "a church of Christians, as well clerics as believers," and that "in the place named Calliana there is also a bishop, who is ordained in Persia."

The Persian Church, with which the connection of the early Indian Christians is so definitely attested, was originally founded by missionaries from Syria, and it experienced the bitter baptism of a persecution as severe as that which befell the Christians of the West in the days of Nero and Diocletian. At the time when the Persian Christians were so sorely persecuted by the Magi, the Church at large was distracted with controversy on the doctrine of the Person of Christ. Œcumenical Councils were held by favour of the Emperor, dogmas were formulated, heretics were condemned, sects were multiplied, and the maintaining of orthodoxy was thought more important than the winning of the nations to Christ. Yet, out of controversy, persecution and political jealousy, there arose a movement which gave an impetus to the spread of Christianity such as the Eastern Church had never before

known. For when Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., for holding, as was alleged, that in Christ there were two persons as well as two natures, he retired to his native Syria, where his followers were mainly found. There they lived under the imperial jurisdiction of Constantinople; and, as the rod of persecution fell heavy upon them, they began to regard the Emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy of Christians. In these circumstances they were fain to take refuge under a more friendly government; and although it might seem like a rush out of the frying-pan into the fire for them to betake themselves to a kingdom which had been the home of persecution so long, yet in Persia they were welcomed, not because they were Christians, but because they were, like the Persians themselves, the enemies of Theodosius. There they became the objects of royal favour. King Pherozes was even prevailed on to expel the orthodox Christians, and not only to admit Nestorians in their place, but to allow them to make the first cities in Persia their chief seat. At last, at a Synod held at Seleucia in 498, the Persian Church wholly separated from the Church in the Roman Empire, and adopted the name of Chaldaean Christians. Their chief assumed the splendid title of Patriarch of Babylon and *Catholicos*. They acquired great power and influence, which they retained more or less for well-nigh ten centuries. In the days of their greatest vigour they may be said to have rolled away the reproach of inactivity from the Eastern Church, for their missionaries traversed the whole of Asia, as far eastward as China, as far southward as Ceylon, covering an area comparable in extent to the Papacy itself.

Of the dominion thus acquired by the Chaldaean Christians, the Church of Malabar formed a part, and is the only part now remaining. It still retains traces of its Persian antecedents. Its members are called Syrian, not because they have Syrian blood in their veins, or because they have a Syriac tongue, but because of their Syriac liturgy. The name is not in this case an ethnological or geographical designation, but purely ecclesiastical. Their creed and cult, not their kith and kin, came originally from Syria. Located for the most part

within the territory of three native princes—the Maharajah of Travancore, the Rajah of Cochin, and the Zamorin of Calicut—they have from time immemorial used Malayalam as their vernacular speech, and any infusion of Persian blood that may have mingled with the Dravidian can hardly be said to have made them differ in colour or ethnical characteristics from surrounding peoples. This Malayalam-speaking people, who had sat in darkness, received the light of truth in a Syriac lantern. As Syriac was the sacred language of the mother church in Persia, so it became the sacred language of her daughter in Malabar; just as the services in the Church of England were conducted for centuries in Latin through the failure of Augustine, its founder, to perceive that the same reason which required men to pray in Latin at Rome required them to pray in English at Canterbury. Yet it seems strange that on account of this abnormal usage in their liturgical services, the Christian Dravidians of Malabar have been so long known by the name of Syrians.

Another testimony to the early connection of the Church of Malabar with Persia shows also its sisterly connection with the Church which lingered so long on the Coromandel or Madras coast. It is derived from an ancient bas-relief cross in stone, found during some excavations made by the Portuguese about 1547, and celebrated as the performer of divers miracles. It was met with in digging for the foundations of a hermitage which marked the spot where the Apostle Thomas is said to have suffered martyrdom. It is now to be seen over the altar of the church which crowns the summit of St. Thomas's Mount near Madras. On one face of this stone slab is a cross in relief, with a bird like a dove over it, having its wings expanded, "as the Holy Ghost is usually represented, when descending on our Lord at His baptism, or on our Lady at her annunciation." There is a Pahlavi inscription on it, which is divided into two unequal parts by a mark like the *plus* sign in algebra. Now, there is a similar cross at Cottayam, the modern metropolis of the Syrian Church, in north Travancore; the only difference being that the Pahlavi inscription on the former cross is in a sort of uncial character, whereas that on the latter is in the cursive style. Otherwise the inscriptions

are identical, and may belong to the seventh or eighth century.* It would almost seem as if these crosses had been originally set up, like the altar *Ed*,† to be a witness between the two churches, separated by the breadth of a continent; so that in time to come, if circumstances should alienate them or annihilate either, there might remain some visible token of their existence and a proof that they were both of the same stock. At all events, on the Coromandel coast to-day there is no other trace of the church, which must have existed there for the better part of a thousand years.

It is difficult to make out the meaning of the inscription with precision; but, in spite of the imperfect translations available, it seems to me possible to arrive at a definite conclusion as to its general purport. The inscription on a cross, set up as a symbol of Christianity within the limits of a Church surrounded on all hands by heathenism, might be expected to exhibit the belief of that Church concerning the crucified One. To me at least it appears that the inscription does in point of fact set forth a view of the person of Christ characteristic of Indian Nestorianism; for in no other theological literature, so far as I am aware, will the notion be found which this inscription seems intended to convey. The first or shorter part of the inscription speaks of the suffering Saviour, "who," continues the second or longer part, "is true Messiah and God above and Holy Ghost;" which seems intended to give expression to a doctrinal belief very generally entertained in olden times among the Syrians in Southern India, and often quoted from the books of theirs which were condemned as heretical at the Synod of Diamper.‡ The doctrine in question was to the effect that in the Christ each of the Persons of the Trinity was incarnate. Thus, in a book called *The Infancy of Our Saviour*, it is maintained "that the union of the Incarnation is common to all the Three Divine Persons, who were all incarnated;" and in an *Exposition of the Gospels* the Lord Jesus is described as

* *Indian Antiquary* vol. iii. p. 313.

† *Joshua* xxiv.

‡ See the Decrees of the Synod, chapter xiv., decree 14, as given by Michael Geddes in his *History of the Church of Malabar*; or by Hough, in his *History of Christianity in India*.

"the Temple of the most Holy Trinity;" and in several other works quoted in the Diamper Decrees the same idea is set forth in precisely similar terms. It seems evident, therefore, that the church on the east side of the peninsula was identical with that on the west, and therefore Nestorian. And this is confirmed by the testimony of travellers. For the remnants of this ancient church on the Coromandel coast still existed when Marco Polo visited the tomb of St. Thomas in the thirteenth century. "Odoric, some thirty years later, found beside the church some fifteen houses of Nestorians, but the church itself filled with idols. Conti, in the following century, speaks of the church in which St. Thomas lay buried, as large and beautiful, and says there were a thousand Nestorians in the city."* They were probably scattered during the political disturbances attending the war between the Muhammadans of the North and the Hindu kingdom of Vigianagara. On the Malabar coast, however, they have endured longer, probably because, attaining greater social importance and stability, they were able to resist the buffeting of adverse fortune. At the beginning of the ninth century they received a great acquisition in the person of Thomas Cana, a Nestorian merchant, of great wealth and influence, who came with a large following and settled in Malabar. It was in the same century, and probably in consequence of their improved position, that they obtained a distinct political organization. They possess ancient charters on plates of copper, which record the rights and privileges which they received from the sovereigns of Malabar. By these instruments they are known to have held a place in society second only to that of the Nairs, the nobility of those parts. The charters referred to were obtained from Ceram Perumal, the last in a succession of viceroys, who rose to independence in a manner not unfamiliar to the student of Indian history. The Syrians tell us that, at the beginning of their annals, "there was no rajah or king in Malabar, but the country was governed by thirty-two chief Brahmans." These Brahmans, having quarrelled among themselves, appealed

* Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 293.

to a king in the Southern Carnatic to become arbiter of their fortunes. This king accordingly sent an army, and having established his authority, appointed a "Perumal" to govern in his name, the period of his service being fixed at twelve years. One of those perumals or viceroys, however, having great personal influence among the people, became powerful enough before the end of his twelve years' term to proclaim himself independent, and it was with Ceram, as the first independent Sovereign of Malabar, that the Syrian Christians in the ninth century negotiated for rights and privileges of which they received a formal guarantee in the six plates of copper which they possess to this day.

It is even asserted by some that the Syrian Christians themselves succeeded in throwing off their allegiance to the sovereigns of Malabar, and setting up as their king Baliartes, one of their own number, with the title of the Rajah of the Christians of St. Thomas. According to this version of their history, they maintained their independence until one of their kings, having no child, adopted as his heir the Rajah of Diamper, who, though a heathen, succeeded to regal power over the Christians. By similar adoptions they became in the course of time subject to the heathen Rajah of Cochin.

The external history of the Syrian Christians thus far presents points of correspondence with that of the mother church in Persia. The former were fostered for a goodly period by the successors of the Perumals, just as the latter was favoured by the Khalifs.

"The Persian Nestorians," says Kurtz,* "always continued on excellent terms with their Khalif rulers—a circumstance chiefly due to their opposition to the notion of a 'mother of God,' and to their rejection of the worship of saints, images and relics, and of priestly celibacy. Accordingly, the Khalifs regarded theirs as a kind of rational Christianity, which approximated to the Moslem ideal. The Nestorian schools of Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, &c., were in a very flourishing state. But the extensive literature which issued from these seats of learning has not been handed down, and only fragments of it have been preserved in the work of Assemanus."

But when the rule of the Khalifs, who had encouraged intellectual pursuits, gave place to Mongol and Turkish

* *History of the Christian Church*, § 103, 1.

barbarism, when Chingis-Khan put an end to their beneficent sway (1220), the Nestorian Church entered upon its period of decline. For a time, indeed, the Nestorians were allowed to carry on missionary labours among the Mongols, not without success; but the conquering Tamerlane hunted them down about the year 1400, and drove the residue to the mountain fastnesses of Kurdistan. Of literary activity on the part of the Indian Christians the evidence is less definite, though the records of the Synod of Diamper certainly attest the possession of many theological and liturgical books, some of which at least seem to be of indigenous growth. There came, however, a period in the history of their relations to heathen princes when they likewise suffered oppression and began seriously to decline; but it was reserved for a Christian power from the West to break the spirit of the Syrians of Malabar.

II.

The doubling of the Cape of Good Hope for the first time by European navigators, was an event not more important in geographical science or commercial enterprise than in the history of Church extension. While it vastly enlarged the dominion of Portugal, and evoked the muse of Camoens to sing its praise in a national epic, it lengthened the cords of the Roman Catholic fold, and introduced a new chapter in the annals of the Church. Her ranks had been greatly thinned by the off-break of Protestantism, and they must needs be replenished by foreign accession. The counter-reformation of the Church from within, as exhibited in the results of the Council of Trent, took a practical form in the way of making proselytes abroad to fill the gap made by the Protestant defection.

The way in which this aggressive work was carried out is repellent enough to the spirit of an age in which enlightenment and charity are more widely diffused. Any means were thought lawful which had for their object the in-gathering of outsiders, by whatsoever name known, under the protection of the Pope, the theory being that all persons beyond the pale of Rome were beyond the pale of salvation. Zealous for the conversion of the world on these terms, the decimated Church was ready to compass sea and land for the purpose of restoring

the balance of power which had been disturbed by the loss of the most progressive race in Europe, and few regions offered a more promising field for this enterprise than India.

Pagans and Muhammadans were to be found there in practically unlimited numbers; but, until the news of it was brought by Cabral and Vasco da Gama, the existence of a Christian Church in India was altogether unknown in the West. The former navigator persuaded two of the Syrians (brothers) to accompany him to Portugal; the latter received in 1502 a petition from the Syrians, praying him to take them under the protection of his Christian master, that so they might be defended against the injuries which they daily suffered from infidel princes. And for a lasting testimony of their submission to the king of Portugal, they sent his Majesty a rod tipped at both ends with silver, with three little bells at the head of it, which had been the sceptre of their Christian kings. As a further proof of the confidence reposed in the Portuguese, which the Syrians thus intimated to the hero of the *Lusiad*, their bishop handed over the six plates of copper, on which their ancient rights and privileges were recorded, to the Commissary of Cochin for safe keeping. These plates, consigned to the Portuguese soon after they settled on Indian shores, were kept until the memory of their existence had well-nigh perished, and were recovered only about the beginning of the present century after careful search in the Fort of Cochin by Colonel Macaulay.*

This mutual confidence led to considerable intercourse between the two races, and the Portuguese were freely admitted to the services of the Syrian Church, where they soon discovered a divergence of creed and ritual from those of Rome. A long period of more or less friendly intercourse enabled them to ascertain in detail the points on which the doctrine and practice of the Syrian Church were considered erroneous. First of all, their Scriptures varied from the Vulgate, and were therefore judged to be in need of correction or supplement. Apart from texts which were thought to have been intentionally corrupted to accord the better with Nes-

* *Christian Researches in Asia*, by Claudius Buchanan, D.D. (Third Edition, 1812), p. 131.

torian errors—such as Acts xx. 28; 1 John iv. 3—it was observed that their copies of the Old Testament omitted the Book of Esther, that Tobit and Wisdom were absent from their lists of Apocryphal books, and that in their New Testament the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, Jude and Revelations were not to be found. The words of John's Gospel (viii. 1-11), and the trinitarian passage in 1 John v. 7, were likewise omitted, while the doxology was added to the Lord's Prayer in the sixth chapter of Matthew.

But if the Romish censors were dissatisfied with the state of the text of Scripture as used by the Syrians, they were shocked by the contents of some of their theological and liturgical books. While the Syrians recognized the first two General Councils, they used the Nicene Creed in a form which omitted the words "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God," and changed the phrase "consubstantial to the Father" into "Son of the essence of the Father," maintaining, too, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth only from the Father, not from the Son; and that the soul of Christ descended not to hell, but was carried to the terrestrial paradise of Eden. They not only held the characteristic errors of Nestorians with regard to the person of Christ, but asserted that the followers of Nestorius "received their faith from the Apostles, that this faith has been preserved to this day in the Church of Babylon, and that the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon is the universal head of the Church immediately under Christ." Of the seven Romish sacraments, the Syrians recognized only three—viz., Baptism, the Eucharist, and Ordination—and even in these three very different views and practices obtained. Of the seven orders known to Rome, the Syrians knew only two—the priest and the deacon; but the Syrian clergy, to the scandal of their Portuguese friends, "had married after they were in orders—nay, had taken orders on purpose that they might marry the better, and had sometimes married widows." Further, through the misgovernment of Nestorian heretics, they lacked the "healthful use of pictures;" they maintained that "images are filthy and abominable idols, and ought not to be adored;" the worship of the Virgin and the invocation of saints they abhorred; transubstantiation and the sacerdotal function of the priesthood, auricular confession,

extreme unction, and prayers for the dead were, to the keen eyes of their critics, conspicuous by their absence, which cannot, unfortunately (thanks to the Romanists), be said to-day.

The exemption of this ancient Church from certain well-known forms of Romish error constituted, in the view of Rome, a decisive argument in favour of what Rome regarded as reform; added to which there was doubtless, in reality, much room for reform. The question was how it could be brought about. The days of crusades were past. The lack must be supplied by the monastic orders, armed where possible with the Inquisition. The Franciscans were the first to move in this direction. They established a college at Cranganore, in 1546, for the purpose of training up in the orthodox faith priests who should be set over the Syrian congregations. But the college was not a success, and its failure was set down by the Jesuits, who were far more aggressive than any of the other Orders, chiefly to the fact that it did not pay sufficient attention to the Syriac language, "always regarded as most sacred by these people, being (as they maintained) the language spoken by their Apostle St. Thomas, and, further still, by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself when on earth." Passing by Cranganore, they selected a quiet spot on the sacred isle of Malaukara. Here they erected in 1587 the famous college of Vaipicotta, in which special attention was given to the study of the Syriac language and literature. The place was well chosen, since, in addition to its having been the island where, according to tradition, St. Thomas first landed, it was on one of the great water-ways leading directly to several of the churches of the interior, and not many miles from Angamalé, one of the most highly venerated strongholds of the native Christians. But, despite all their acquaintance with the Syriac language and the Romish doctrines, the young priests were rejected by the people for whose benefit they were intended; and this means of sapping the foundations of the Syrian Church was thus rendered abortive.

Such a state of things, however, could not be allowed to continue. If gentleness failed, force must be applied. A powerful ecclesiastic arose to lead the movement. Aleixo de Menezes, who had been appointed Archbishop of Goa and

Primate of the Indies, had arrived with a brief from Pope Clement VIII., dated January 27, 1595, according to which he was directed to "make inquisition into the crimes and errors of Mar Abraham, and, in case he found him guilty of such things as he had been accused of, to have him apprehended and secured in Goa; as also to appoint a Governor or Vicar-Apostolic of the Roman communion over his bishopric; and upon Mar Abraham's death to take care that no bishop coming from Babylon should be suffered to succeed."

Mar Abraham died in 1597, "contemning the sacrament of penance," and committing the care of his diocese to Archdeacon George. The time had arrived for Menezes to carry out the Papal brief, but it soon became evident that he had tough work to do. At an early stage of the negotiations Archdeacon George made bold to inform him that the Pope of Rome had no more to do with them than they had with the Pope of Rome; and, having made this declaration as from himself, he assembled a Synod of the clergy and most substantial laity at Angamalé, the then metropolis of the diocese, where they all swore to stand by their Archdeacon in defence of the faith of their fathers, to allow no alteration to be made in the doctrines of their Church, and to admit no bishops save such as should be sent by the Patriarch of Babylon; of all which they made a public instrument, and, having sworn to maintain it with their lives and fortunes, ordered it to be published. Would that they had proved as courageous in action as in speech! History asks in vain, where were their martyrs, their Hamiltons and Wisharts, their Riddleys and Latimers? The Syrians would murmur and protest and weep, but they would not burn. When Menezes came among them in person, with all his strength of will and wealth of resource, Oriental-like they yielded. The Archbishop convened a Synod of the Syrians, over which he himself was to preside. It met at Diamper on June 20, 1599, and every precaution was taken for giving to the meeting as much of the appearance and as little of the reality of a free deliberative assembly as possible. The Synod having been constituted with a solemn Mass and a sermon against schism, the first act which the members were required to perform was to profess their faith

in the creed of Pope Pius IV., and then to "swear and protest to God by the Holy Gospel and the cross of Christ" that they would never receive into their Church "any bishop, archbishop, prelate, pastor, or governor, unless appointed by the Bishop of Rome; and further, that they would submit to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, in these parts established." Then the doctrine of the seven sacraments was set forth in due detail, and two chapters on the *Reformation of Church Affairs* and the *Reformation of Manners* conclude the records of this notorious Synod, by which the creed of the Church of Malabar was, in the space of seven dark monsoon days, replaced by a body of Tridentine doctrine, the Syrians themselves under heavy pressure voting for the change! There were few kindly touches in the proceedings of this Synod. Undoubtedly the most cruel one was the giving retrospective effect to the decree about the celibacy of the clergy. After the manner of Hildebrand in Europe, Menezes compelled the married clergy, on pain of excommunication, to put away their wives.

So, after a couple of tours of visitation, with the Synod of Diamper between, the Primate returned to Goa, thinking that he had made peace in the Church of Malabar by reconciling it with the "mother church" of Rome; but readers of the history are reminded of the policy which Tacitus so tersely describes, *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

III.

The period of the subjection of the Church of Malabar to Rome was sometimes spoken of as a sort of "Babylonish captivity," but ere the limit of seventy years was reached the yoke of the oppressor was broken. Before that political change, however, one of those hopeful outbursts of indignation took place on the part of the Syrians that serve to show what might have been. It was in the year 1653 that the Syrians met in thousands round "the Coonen Cross," in a village near Cochin, and took oath that they were done with Portuguese bishops and would never again acknowledge them. The occasion of this demonstration was that one Atalla, having been sent by the Patriarch of Babylon to India and having landed at

Maliapur, had been seized by the Portuguese and put on board ship to be conveyed to Goa and consigned to the Inquisition. When the Syrians became aware that the bishop intended for them was thus doomed to destruction, their indignation knew no bounds; and the numbers being so great that all could not touch the cross in taking the oath, they connected themselves with the venerable symbol by means of ropes along which the current of "virtue" might flow to sustain them in the brave stand which they now resolved to make for liberty. Then and there they appointed a provisional government of the diocese, choosing Archdeacon Thomas as their bishop, and taking such further action as seemed necessary for carrying on the work of the Church. Ten years afterwards the Dutch became masters of Cochin, and though they did nothing directly for the benefit of the Syrians, they undesignedly did them a great kindness, when, for reasons of their own, they ordered all foreign ecclesiastics to leave their newly won territory. Released from the tyranny of the Portuguese priests, the Syrians might have been expected to look forward to an independent future and to solve once for all the problem of self-government. But they did not avail themselves of the splendid opportunity which Providence gave them, and from that day to this they have showed a degree of indifference on the point but too characteristic of the Oriental. Leading-strings they loved, and in leading-strings they were content to go. If the supply of bishops from the Patriarch of Babylon was hopelessly cut off, they would not refuse a bishop from any other Oriental sect, and so they were fain to take the first that came their way. He happened to be a Jacobite, but such as he was they vastly preferred him to any bishop from the West.

The Jacobites derived their name from the monk Jacobus Zanzahis (commonly termed *El Baradai*, from the circumstance of his going about in the disguise of a beggar), whose indefatigable activity preserved the existence of the Monophysite Church during the persecutions of Justinian. Hence the Syrian Monophysites were called Jacobites. Their head resides at Mardin in Armenia, and lays claim to the rank and prerogatives of "Patriarch of Antioch." Though they held the

opposite error to that of the Nestorians, yet, to the Indian Christians, with whom doctrine counted for so little and ritual for so much, such a transaction seemed a small matter in comparison with adopting the Western cult. Accordingly, the hands of the dignitary at Mardin have generally, since the year 1665, administered the sacrament of ordination to the bishops designate of the Syrian Christians. During the further occupancy of the country by the Dutch, there is little in the history of this ancient Christian community that calls for notice; nor even after the advent of the British, until the coming of Claudius Buchanan, a Bengal chaplain, whose visit in 1806 marks an epoch in the history of the Malabar Church. He was enthusiastically interested in all that he saw, and was sometimes led to give more favourable reports than facts were found afterwards to justify. Still he did a great deal of good, and the publication of his *Christian Researches in Asia* gained for the Syrian Church the interest and sympathy of the evangelicals in England. By his literary labours and personal advocacy Buchanan educated English opinion on the subject, so that the Church Missionary Society felt prepared to act on a representation made by Colonel Munro, the Political Resident at the Court of Travancore, and sent four missionaries in 1816 to Malabar with the distinct purpose of aiding the Syrian Church to reform itself from within, without interfering with its liberty. It is interesting to compare the means used for carrying out this kindly purpose with those employed by the Jesuits. They were (1) to supply the Syrian Christians with printed copies of the Syriac Scriptures, as the manuscript copies were very scarce, and to translate Bible and Liturgy from Syriac—which was quite unknown to the mass of the people—into the vernacular Malayalam; (2) to plant vernacular schools in connection with all their churches, and a grammar-school at Cottayam; (3) to establish at Cottayam a college for the better education of the Syrian clergy—a certificate, given by the English principal of the college, being demanded by the Bishop from all candidates for ordination; (4) to appoint a committee, or what was in fact a legislative and judicial council, consisting of the missionaries and the Metran (as their Bishop is commonly called), which took upon itself the secular

and ecclesiastical control of all the Syrian churches in Travancore and Cochin, from which appeals in civil matters only could be presented to another court, consisting of the English Political Resident, and the Dewan or native Prime Minister of Travancore. This consociation worked well for about twenty years, the Syrians, both ecclesiastical and lay, being perfectly satisfied with the arrangement. But times and bishops changed, and things went from bad to worse, till 1837, when a Synod was held, at which "the Syrian bishop, by bribes and intimidation, succeeded in preventing the reforming party from being heard; and then, by means of a majority of his followers, dissolved the connection with the Church Mission, their Church and objects." Thus the divisions which Romanism had introduced were not healed by Protestantism, nor did the latter avail to prevent further disunion. That section of the Church which still acknowledges the Pope, and is known as Syro-Romanist, may be estimated at under 110,000; while the main body which remains in more or less loyal connection with his Holiness of Mardin, may be estimated as well over 330,000. But the latter body is by no means one compact whole. The causes of its disunion may be summarized under four heads—(1) The twenty years' connection with the Church Missionary Society had not been for nothing. A large number of the clergy and people were inoculated with the idea of reformation on evangelical lines, so that for the last half-century there has been a party in favour of vernacular services, prayer-meetings, Bible-readings, and all the apparatus of evangelical progress; while side by side with this reforming party there has been an obstructive party who will have none of these things. (2) Through the influence of its evangelical friends and in connection with the effort by the Church Mission to introduce reform, there had accrued a large amount of property in money, in lands, and in the college at Cottayam, which was distributed by arbitration in 1840; and the Syrian Christians found themselves as a Church richer after the alliance than before. This property is, in the present divided state of the Church, a sort of apple of discord, each of the parties desiring to have a bishop of its own way of thinking, who should be invested with its management.

(3) The ordination of bishops being (theoretically) in the hands of a remote ecclesiastic, who knows nothing of the language and little of the feelings of the people, and who is not amenable to the apostolic precept about laying hands suddenly on no man, the Church of Malabar has not escaped, during many years of the present generation, the scandal of having two rival bishops both ordained by the same hands at Mardin, each contending for the sole rule of all the churches. (4) The civil courts of Travancore, having confirmed the late bishop of the reforming party for a quarter of a century in his authority over the diocese till his death in 1877, seem now disposed to reverse their policy, and not only to assign to the reactionary rival property which was originally acquired to effect evangelical reforms, but to make their decisions somewhat dangerously depend on the caprice of an ecclesiastic over whom they have no sort of control, and who in relation to the Church of Malabar is little better than an interloper. Had this so-called Patriarch of Antioch only listened to the wise counsel of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, tendered him at Addington Park in 1874, the state of matters in the Syrian Church might have been much better than it is to-day. Among other things, his Grace endeavoured to impress him with the idea that the Syrian Christians are "entitled to independence in the selection of their bishops." Oh, that these people would take the matter into their own hands and seize, as they have an undoubted right to do, the power to which the late Archbishop Tait held that they were entitled! Did they not throw off the authority of his Holiness of Rome at the "Coonen Cross" in 1653?

"Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow?"

What the future of this Church will be it would be difficult to forecast. When the rupture took place in 1837, the minds of the people as a whole were not alienated from the Church Missionary Society. On the contrary, the influence which the English missionaries have since exerted on the Syrian Church is thought by some of themselves to have been greater than it could have been had the relation remained undisturbed.

Many of the Syrians have been stimulated to take advantage of the higher education and the more intelligent worship of the Protestant churches in their neighbourhood. Many of their young men find their way to Madras to prepare in the Christian College or in the Medical College for the higher degrees of the University, and this result is mainly due to the direct or indirect influence of the Church Missionary Society. The old Syrian bottles will not hold the new wine. There is no reason to fear that this Church will lapse into heathenism and vanish from history as the sister Church on the Coromandel coast seems to have done; and there is just as little reason to expect that a reformation such as the Church Missionary Society originally contemplated will ever be brought about, but with a strong Protestant mission on the one side and a strong Romish mission on the other, it will be difficult for the Syrian Christians to hold their ground apart. These strong Churches will doubtless receive from time to time into their respective communions individual members from the Syrian Church; and if so, if the weaker thus give way to the stronger, if the Syrian Church be absorbed by the more vigorous organizations around her, history will interpret her fate as the penalty of intellectual stagnation and lack of faith, and posterity will probably recognize in her doom the voice which said to another Church, "therefore your house is left unto you desolate." Still the eye of hope would fain penetrate further into the vista of the future, and discern the time when the deplorable sectarian differences which characterize our Western Christianity, and which have got a foothold to no small extent in India, shall be superseded by a finer and fuller growth of Christian doctrine and spiritual life, and when the Indian Church, reconciling all her sects in a common faith and a common purity, shall hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and shall in the most comprehensive sense be *one*. When such a time comes, when there shall be one strong Indian Church, the disappearance of any particular sect, however venerable, will be abundantly compensated by the ampler life and the larger hope of success in winning the whole of India to Christ, and in contributing the most effective share to the complete spiritual conquest of Asia.

ART. VII.—THE MIDDLE AGE OF METHODISM
AND ITS GREATEST MAN.

1. *The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.* By his Son, THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING. Continued by the Rev. G. STRINGER ROWE. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.
2. *The History of Wesleyan Methodism.* By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D. Three vols. London: T. Woolmer.
3. *A Comparative View of Church Organizations, Primitive and Protestant.* By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. With a Supplementary Chapter on Methodist Secessions and Methodist Union. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.
4. *Liberal Methodism Vindicated.* By J. C. WATTS, D.D. London: C. D. Ward.
5. *Wesleyan Methodism Defended: a Reply, &c.* By JOHN S. SIMON. London: T. Woolmer.

IN our last number we reviewed Mr. Hughes' *Life of Bishop Fraser*. In that Life was set forth the course of an able, manly Englishman of high university education, who, having lived at Oxford for some years the life of a spirited young man, with the tastes of a country gentleman, was admitted to orders in the Church of England, and entered upon the work of a parish clergyman without any special training for such work or any sense of a really spiritual vocation. For many years he added the professional functions of a parish priest to the ordinary life, for which he seemed to have every qualification, of a country squire; but finally, after twenty years spent in this way, and elevated into public influence and dignity chiefly by a series of engagements as Commissioner in social and educational inquiries which many laymen would have been equally competent to conduct, he was appointed bishop of a great ecclesiastical province. The volume now before us contains the record of a life in many ways strongly contrasted with that of Bishop Fraser. Jabez Bunting was under education for the medical profession, in which he had the fairest prospect of succeeding. He relinquished that prospect, with the social superiority and the

probable wealth which might have been looked for by the favourite pupil of Dr. Percival, of Manchester, one of the most eminent physicians of his time, that he might devote himself to the toils of a Methodist preacher's life, as that life was nearly a century ago, accepting with his whole heart its hardships, its poverty, its obscurity, its reproach and contempt, because he was under the constraining sense of a spiritual vocation, of a "Divine call" to make the Methodist ministry his life-work. And thenceforth he subordinated every power and every circumstance within his control to the fulfilment of its highest ideal—as preacher, pastor, divine, administrator.

The volume named at the head of this article is the record of the greatest man, take him for all in all, that Methodism has produced since its founder died—the man who may almost be said to have shaped and moulded into self-sufficing completeness the church which was destined to be developed out of John Wesley's "Society of the People called Methodists." This biography must henceforth be part and parcel of Methodist history. Let this volume be added to Dr. George Smith's admirable volumes on *The Middle Age of Methodism* and *Modern Methodism*, the second and third of his *History of Methodism*, and the student will be able to master a story, very difficult to understand because of its peculiarity and complexity, but in the highest degree interesting and instructive. This volume, indeed, is quite as necessary for the student as Dr. Smith's volumes. It supplies many deficiencies, reveals many hidden springs, and pours a wonderful wealth of illustration upon the whole development of the Connexional economy. Against Dr. Bunting's enemies and detractors—and so great and creative a ruling spirit in so wide and various a field, so powerful an administrator during so many years, so towering a personality, whatever might have been his wisdom and disinterestedness, could not but have many detractors—this volume, in which the secrets of the man's nature and the details of his history are laid bare, is the best defence.

How great a man the tailor's son, who entered the Methodist ministry in 1799, had become in his prime and continued to be till the end of his course, may be indicated by two testimonies borne by witnesses of the highest character and

competency who had no direct connection with Methodism. Three weeks before his decease, and on his last visit to London, Dr. Chalmers, in company with a son-in-law, received a call from Dr. Bunting. The following is the record in the great Scotchman's diary: "Delighted with a call after dinner from Dr. Bunting, with whom I and Mr. Mackenzie were left alone for an hour at least. Most exquisite interview with one of the best and wisest of men. Mr. Mackenzie and I both love him to the uttermost" (p. 553). This was in 1847. Perhaps, outside of his own church, no one in London, during his later life, knew him better than Dr. Steane, the able and accomplished Baptist divine, and senior secretary, for many years, of the Evangelical Alliance. For the form of the record adopted by that Alliance, in relation to the death of Dr. Bunting, Dr. Steane, we have reason to believe, was largely responsible. We can only quote one short extract, but we quote this because it exhibits a side of Dr. Bunting's character which struck all who had any personal acquaintance with him, and which impressed the more in proportion as any came into closer and more intimate knowledge of him:—

"While they could not but account him a 'prince and a great man,'" say the resolutions of the Council of the Alliance, "he was at the same time as a 'little child in the midst of them;' and they feel that their tribute, inadequate as it is, would be most imperfect, were they not to add their testimony to the uniform humbleness of mind and modesty of demeanour which characterized their venerable friend. . . . The wisest deemed it a privilege to be brought into contact with him; the least gifted were made to feel at perfect ease in his society."

No one could come into contact with Dr. Bunting without being impressed with the simple perfection of his manners. No truer gentleman in private have we at least ever known. It was not merely that he did not assert himself, he seemed to have no consciousness of himself. It was wholly with his guests or friends that his mind seemed to be occupied, whilst the self-possessed ease of his courtesy was as perfect as his self-forgetfulness was complete. Yet, as we have intimated, he was of lowly origin. His parents were poor country folk from Derbyshire, earnest and godly Methodists. It was Jabez Bunting's good fortune to be sent by his industrious and frugal father to a

good school, of the plain but not narrow sort, of which there would seem to have been more in proportion a century since than fifty years later. Here he added the rudiments of mathematics to his arithmetic, and also learnt the elements of Latin and Greek. He learnt, besides, something of French, and was even introduced to Hebrew. Here also the tailor's son was fortunate enough to establish a close friendship with Edward Percival, a schoolfellow and classmate of a very different rank in society, son of the physician already named, who was at that time the chief light of Manchester. As a consequence of this friendship with Edward Percival, and his own proficiency and high character as a schoolboy, young Bunting, after leaving school, became first the amanuensis and afterwards the pupil of Dr. Percival. It was in the house of this distinguished man that he finished his early secular education and formed his habits and manners. The hereditary education of the scholarly Presbyterians, who had now become Arians or Unitarians, was perhaps the most careful that England then knew. Intellectually, these Arian Presbyterians were men of accurate and very liberal culture—as such names as those of Dr. Pryce and Dr. Taylor, of the Heywoods and the Martineaus, may serve to remind those who have studied the history of the eighteenth century. To this culture young Bunting was admitted, whilst, happily, he was not perverted from orthodoxy, even by association with so attractive a man as Dr. Percival. He was the close friend of all the family while they lived, and was appointed by Dr. Percival his executor, in association with his son, Dr. Percival, of Bath, Bunting's old schoolfellow at the Manchester "Presbyterian" School.

Born in 1779, it was in 1799 that Jabez Bunting, who had been early "converted" by a sound repentance, "after a godly sort," and a true faith in Christ, felt himself constrained to give up his flattering secular prospects that he might devote himself to the Methodist ministry. He was accepted by the Conference of the same year, and sent to Oldham as his first circuit. Wesley had been dead only eight years. Only four years had passed since the Societies had, after a sharp struggle with the Church-Methodists, including many men of good position, and especially not a few of the trustees of the

chapels, won from the Conference the liberty of receiving the sacraments, wherever this privilege was generally desired, from their own preachers; only three years since the fundamental principles, at once of distinctive responsibility and of mutual co-operation, had, in general outline, been settled between the ministers and the laity of Methodism. The work of moulding and shaping into complete development the organic growth of Wesleyan Methodism, so that, whilst not ceasing to be a spiritual society of primitive character and instincts, it should also become a well appointed church, competent for all purposes of self-direction, of administration, and of propagation and extension—this work remained to be done, and it was to be Jabez Bunting's vocation to do it. How he did this great work is shown in the present volume.

The delay in the publication of Dr. Bunting's Life has been for many years matter of great surprise. It was on June 16, 1858, that Dr. Bunting died, having a month before entered his eightieth year. Twenty-nine years accordingly have passed away since that event, and now this volume makes its appearance. It consists of three portions, which, however, are not distinguished in the printing, of which the first was published as the first volume of his Life, less than a year after his death. This was written by his second son, Mr. T. Percival Bunting, then of Manchester, but who died at Chiselhurst in 1886, having spent the later years of his life in the neighbourhood of London. Though a volume of considerable size, it only covered the first thirty-two years of the life, and twelve years of the ministry, of its subject, bringing the biography down to the Conference of 1811, when Bunting had spent one year of his probation at Oldham, two at Macclesfield, one at London, at the end of which year he was "received into full connexion" as a Methodist minister, a second at London as a fully received minister, during which he married his first wife, Miss Maclardie, of Macclesfield, daughter of the organist of the principal church in that town,* two years at Manchester, his native town, two at Sheffield and two at Liver-

* Of this church the useful and widely known Mr. Simpson was the incumbent, and there the ancestors of the present Bishop of Liverpool, Methodist Churchmen or Church Methodists, were among the "pillars" of the congregation.

pool. The accomplished biographer had been tempted by his special knowledge and gifts to embroider the line of his father's history with numerous *vignette* portraits of ancient Methodists, more or less distinguished, of whom, in tracking the course of his father's life, he was brought within view. The *vignettes* were artistic, and to a lover of Methodist archives, as such, were very interesting, not a few of them, indeed, were exquisite etchings; but to many readers they were only likenesses of unknown, sometimes unheard of, persons; they distracted attention, and they seemed to hinder progress. It was a disappointment to be led through so many pages, and at the end of one volume to be only at the opening of the illustrious public career of the great man who, above all, was a public character, identified with the great epochs of Methodist history, and also to some extent with the history of Christian philanthropy in the first half of the century. People asked, if it took one large volume to get as far as the beginning of Dr. Bunting's public course, how many volumes would be required to contain the record of the forty years remaining, years crowded with the most important developments of English Christianity and, in particular, of Wesleyan Methodism? Clever and interesting as the volume was, the sale fell short of what the author expected. He had printed a very large edition—indeed two editions, varying in size and style—and a large number remained on hand. If a second volume had soon made its appearance, these might have sold; but the discouraged author issued no second volume. After some years he left Manchester, his health failed, and it seemed as if the first volume would remain a solitary fragment. Beyond all expectation, however, Mr. Percival Bunting did, a quarter of a century after his father's death, resume his task and proceed with the work of the biographer. He had settled at Chiselmhurst, in a congenial retirement among his family and friends. It was evident that his health, which had rallied for awhile, was finally giving way. He determined to give the remainder of his strength and life to completing his father's biography in the midst of a peace and quiet, following an active and various life, which were favourable to the work. The papers and cor-

respondence accumulated during his father's long and momentous life formed the matter of his research, and had to be classified, compared, and laid under contribution: his father seems to have sacredly preserved all documents and all his correspondence. Such was the task which the son set himself to accomplish during the few latest years of his life; but he did not live to complete his task, although he had done much in the way of preparation for that remainder of the work which he was not able himself to accomplish. He continued his labour of love with wonderful tenacity of purpose long after he had ceased to be able to write. At last, not long before his death, the power to proceed by the method of dictation came by degrees to its last gasp. He had brought the work down to the Conference of 1829, when his father had completed the thirtieth year of his ministry, and was fifty years old. For twenty years after this period Dr. Bunting retained his great powers and his paramount influence unimpaired; for nearly thirty years his life was prolonged, in growing reverence and love from all that were brought into relations with him. Mr. Bunting having thus dealt, and admirably dealt, with his father's biography during the portion of his life we have described, the materials he had collected and in part prepared, were put into the hands of the Rev. G. S. Rowe, who was entrusted with the responsible task of finishing the biography, and bringing out the whole in a complete form. That work he has accomplished with great care and exactness, with excellent judgment and perfect taste.

The protracted delay in the completion of this biography, although it has been a grievous disappointment to very many, and indeed was to some who had known Dr. Bunting well and loved him deeply, a sorrow which lasted almost till their dying hour, may yet seem almost opportune in view of certain questions which have recently been raised in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and of some discussions which took place at the last Conference. The question of Methodist union has lately been pressed upon the attention of Wesleyan Methodists. It is true that this was done altogether unofficially and that the movement, which was of journalistic origin, and which at no time took a really impressive form, because it

was wanting in body, because it had no large backing or natural foundation, either inside or outside of the parent Wesleyan Connexion, has now proved itself to have been inopportune, and has received no encouragement, as a movement for organic union, either from the Wesleyan Conference, or from the other Methodist Conferences, having indeed been civilly bowed out of the annual assemblies, and perhaps more coolly in the case of the New Connexion Conference than elsewhere. Nevertheless, this attempt to force the question, has not left the matter by any means where it was. Although at one time it threatened to create an agitation from which nothing but evil was likely to arise, and which might have produced protracted controversy and more or less of intestine division, there seems reason now to hope that it will lead to two opposite yet not contradictory results, both of them beneficial—a franker friendship and easier interchange of ideas and counsels between the separate Methodist churches, on the one hand, and a clearer understanding of the essential and important distinction of principles among them, on the other. During thirty years of profound peace, the original principles of the Wesleyan organization and economy were in some danger of being forgotten even by Wesleyan ministers; while the people generally had, we might perhaps say happily, no apprehension that other churches, calling themselves Methodist, maintained views in regard to the first principles of ecclesiastical organization radically opposed to those which the Wesleyan Conference had always held sacred, as being essential to the due and effective discharge of the pastoral office, as necessary in order to the unity, the vitality, the purity of the church, to the security of Christian doctrine and discipline, alike among ministers and people. The effect of the perilous, but, as we would hope, providentially overruled movement of the last year, has been that, as to the points we have noted, Wesleyan Methodists, and especially Wesleyan ministers, have been compelled to recur to the first principles of their economy and the early controversies of their history. When, at the beginning of the present year, Dr. Rigg had finished his series of chapters on Church Organization, published originally in the *Wesleyan Magazine*, the Connexional Book Committee, in requesting their separate

publication, with a view to meeting the demands arising out of what seemed to be a new agitation, strongly urged by a unanimous vote, that the series should be enlarged by the addition of whatever was necessary to furnish a clear and adequate explanation of the nature of the differences between the parent Connexion and the other offshoots of Methodism. Those who read the chapters as originally published in the magazine found in them no reference whatever to the past divisions of Methodism, or to the separate Methodist bodies. Indeed, the handling of the distinctive ecclesiastical principles of Wesleyan Methodism, in the way of direct and positive treatment, and under the separate head of "Wesleyan Methodism," was much slighter and less distinct in the two brief chapters which were assigned to the subject, than might have been expected from the style of the writer's detailed criticism of Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism in foregoing chapters. The effect of the resolution of the Wesleyan Book Committee was to compel Dr. Rigg to deal explicitly and fully, so far at least as principles are concerned, with the fundamental points in question between Wesleyan Methodism, as an ecclesiastical organization, and other leading forms of Protestantism, especially the Methodist bodies which had grown out of hostile Methodist secessions, of which the chief are represented by the New Connexion and the Methodist Free Churches. Dr. Rigg's volume accordingly became a sort of authority in regard to the question of organic Methodist union, and as such was frequently referred to by those who took part in the controversy. It naturally called forth criticisms from writers of the secession churches. On behalf of the New Connexion, especially, as one of the churches embraced under the courtesy title of "Liberal Methodism," Dr. Watts, a New Connexion minister, published what professed to be a reply to Dr. Rigg. This in turn has called forth from the Rev. J. S. Simon, who, a few years ago, contributed to this journal an article entitled "The Origin of the First Important Methodist Secession," and which related to the Kilhamite agitation and controversy of 1795-7, a rejoinder, in which he has vindicated Dr. Rigg's rendering of history, and the view given in his own article, by quotations from original documents, especially the writings of

Mr. Kilham and official publications of his earliest followers, and from the laws and regulations, earlier and later, of the New Connexion. All this furnished material to prepare the way for an intelligent discussion of the question of organic union at the recent Wesleyan Conference at Manchester. The result was, as we have intimated, that the Conference mildly affirmed its adherence to Connexional principles, courteously shelved the question of organic union, and, at the same time, appointed a committee to consider how best to prevent waste and improper rivalry where the labours of various Methodist bodies come into mutual contact within the same field. The New Connexion, having made no public advances, official or unofficial, in this movement, contented itself with a very general reference to the subject, and has throughout maintained its dignity. Perhaps the fact that it is a very small body—that it is, indeed, though the earliest, almost, if not quite, the smallest among the Methodist denominations—has disinclined it to say or do anything which looks like a movement for return. And yet surely the old and original body, which, without reckoning its affiliated branches, outnumbers the earliest secessionist Methodist Church more than fifteen times, can hardly be expected, as to fundamental points of principle, sacred from the beginning hitherto, to capitulate to that secession.

The result of the whole is, as we have intimated, that now a volume which throws direct, authoritative, contemporary illustration on the successive phases of Wesleyan Methodist constitutional history, from the era of the Kilhamite division down to the period of Dr. Bunting's death, and, through the biographer's suggestive comments and applications, even to the present time, cannot but be very welcome to the earnest and candid student of the principles and history—and it is only through the history that the principles can be understood—of Wesleyan Methodism. Concurrently with this result, Dr. Smith's *History of Methodism* is likely to be called for more than it has been in recent years; and accordingly, as we are glad to learn, a reissue of that invaluable work is now announced from the Wesleyan Book Room. Alike in the biography of Dr. Bunting, in Dr. Rigg's volume, and in Mr.

Simon's instructive *exposé* of history and principles, Dr. Smith's work is referred to as of the highest authority. And, however valuable may be the new light and information contained in the biography and in Mr. Simon's pamphlet, there are historical statements and arguments, supported by large quotations of unimpeachable evidence and authority, in Dr. Smith's *History*, which are of the highest importance to a clear and true mastery of the essential points in question.

There are two aspects in which Dr. Bunting's biography may be regarded, with one of which only can we deal in the present article. The one aspect relates to the general character, influence, and principles of Dr. Bunting, regarded as the master spirit of legislation and administration in Wesleyan Methodism for more than forty years, during that grand period of its constitutional history in which it was in course of constructive growth and development. The other is the personal and private character and relations of Dr. Bunting as a minister among his brethren, as a pastor among his people, with the glimpses, afforded by his diary and correspondence, into the actual conditions, both spiritual and social, of Wesleyan Methodism at different periods and in various localities. These two aspects of the biography cannot be absolutely separated from each other; but upon the second, interesting and attractive as it is, we shall scarcely be able to touch in this article. On another occasion we hope to deal with it. At present we proceed, on the former aspect of the case, to make some remarks, which will be in the nature of an introduction to the subject of the biography generally, and will be corroborated and illustrated in the course of the article on the more personal aspects of Dr. Bunting's life, by which we hope to follow up the present article.

The principles of Dr. Bunting's policy are described by his son in the following terms:—

"It was his policy to promote simultaneous improvements in all directions. Let the entrance into the ministry be still [more] diligently guarded; let all the ancient usages of mutual inquiry and supervision, of itinerancy, and of sustentation be sacredly preserved; let the standard of literary, theological, and religious attainment be made higher and more uniform; in short, let the ministry be such as should command, without controversy or reluctance, the recognition and confidence of the people.

But, at the same time, respect *their* rights ; secure their services in every department not assigned by the New Testament exclusively to the minister or to the pastorate ; relieve the clergy from a burden which was greater than they could bear, and from wretched suspicions, ill-natured insinuations, and bitter calumnies ; and pour the light of noon-day upon the smouldering fires of faction, so putting them out for ever. These two lines of action, so far from being diverse, were the two component parts of one complete and comprehensive system, and, as each was steadily and prudently pursued, it promoted and secured the other" (pp. 331-2).

Whatever the tongue of calumny may have declared in by-gone years, the voice of history cannot but absolutely confirm the truth of this statement. The evidence to establish it is superabundant, and may be found in the Minutes and Digests of Conference legislation for forty years, in Dr. Smith's *History*, and in the private correspondence given in this biography. The Rev. W. Arthur, from 1841 onwards, had ample and exceptionally close opportunities of forming a judgment respecting Dr. Bunting's principles and policy as a public man, although to Dr. Bunting himself, as a patron, he owed nothing, and always retained towards him, though a young man, a remarkable independence of position, even on some occasions taking a conspicuous part in opposition to the great leader. In 1850 Mr. Arthur contributed an article on Dr. Bunting to the *Christian Times*, the authorship of which remained for a considerable time a secret. In this article he gives a description of Dr. Bunting's policy in both its branches, in strict harmony with what we have just quoted from the pen of Mr. Percival Bunting. From this article we will here borrow a few sentences, which put in a striking way the question to which we wish now to address ourselves. Mr. Arthur quotes a Transatlantic writer who was himself, as we happen to know, the son of a deceased and the brother of a then living Wesleyan minister, who had made his mark as a journalist in the United States, and who wrote as follows for an American public : " It is a fact but little known, and by those who have been accustomed to hear this great man railed at as a priestly dictator, not even suspected, that nearly every measure which has popularized the institutions of Methodism, which has given to the people a more liberal representation, has originated with Dr. Bunting." Mr. Arthur proceeds for himself to say of

Dr. Bunting : " He has never cared to be *with* the people ; but, if his measures speak, he is careful to be, according to his judgment, *for* them. But if so, how comes it that he is so often represented in a very different light ? We have sought the answer to that question in various quarters and, among others, in a sketch ascribed to Mr. Everett.* It says : ' He is great in mind and great in influence—too great to be forgiven ; if he were less so, it might be borne. This is the secret.' " Mr. Arthur, however, refuses to accept this cynical explanation of the animosity against Dr. Bunting, which undoubtedly was felt by not a few during the later part of his life, which at one time, indeed, gathered in a dark volume and threatened to overcast the peace of his closing years. He suggests general considerations as adequate to account for the set of feeling against Dr. Bunting in certain directions. " Is it in the nature of human things," he asks, " that one individual should lead vast multitudes for years, and that all he does shall be so perfect that no man shall strongly and honestly differ, or that all those he outpeers shall be so perfect that they will never misconstrue his motives, or unreasonably attack his plans ? Has the Church or the world ever known a case in which such an influence as Dr. Bunting's has not provoked assault ? Is it ever likely to see such a case before the days of millennial greatness ? "

Mr. Arthur closes his sketch with the following passage :—

" There he is, after fifty years of hard service, going down to his rest with the eyes of the world upon him. He is powerful ; but he is poor. From the great Connexion for which he has lived, his *sole* revenue is a furnished house, coals, candles, and £150 a year. Nor have we ever heard of a living man who professed to know that he sought for more. Yes, there he is going down to his rest poor ; but with what earnest, not to say devoted, love do the men who know him best seem to attend him ! We may not live to see it, but before many years the public will be able to judge, if those men, after looking into the grave of Jabez Bunting, will lift up their eyes with the satisfaction of those who are relieved of a tyrant ; or if they will turn those eyes to the world he has left, and ask, ' Where shall we find his like ? ' "

* Mr. Everett's sketch of Dr. Bunting in the *Wesleyan Centenary Takings*. Mr. Everett afterwards became Dr. Bunting's arch-enemy, his most bitter calumniator.

We have quoted Mr. Arthur's answer to his own question, his solution of the problem he has stated. But we confess that we do not regard it as adequate or satisfactory. Such considerations as he has suggested would no doubt account for not a little of prejudice and misrepresentation and for bitterness, more or less deeply rooted, in certain quarters. But the injustice done to Dr. Bunting was in every way exceptional, and can only be accounted for by exceptional causes. The fierceness and virulence, the truculent pertinacity, the cruel heartlessness, the unscrupulousness of the persecution to which for many years he was subjected, were all and altogether exceptional. To understand them we must take into account deep-seated historical causes, ancient and bitter ecclesiastical prejudices, accumulations of quasi-political misunderstanding and rancour, the special nature of the times through which his paramount influence and guidance endured, as well as personal disappointments, jealousies, and offences on the part of some men, chiefly ministers, who took a leading part against him. Such a view as we are about to give should form a part of any history of modern Methodism, and is necessary in order to understand fully the character and influence of Dr. Bunting. His son, if he had not done his work in face of death's imminent approach, and, after all, left it unfinished, would probably have given a valuable summary of such considerations as we have adverted to. We shall now attempt to describe more particularly some of the chief circumstances and influences of which in this paragraph we have given a general indication.

Dr. Bunting, as we have noted, entered upon his ministry three years after the outbreak of the Kilhamite agitation—two years, that is to say, after the formation of the Kilhamite or New Connexion secession, with its following of 5000 "members of Society." The work which, from a very early period—his extreme youth being combined with singular maturity of judgment and practical wisdom as well as perfect modesty—Bunting set himself to consider, and, so far as in him lay, to provide or prepare the means of accomplishing, was how to secure for the parent Connexion whatever was right and wise in Mr. Kilham's proposals or ideas ;

how to counteract the wrong tendencies to be found within the Connexion, of which Kilham's secession may be said to have been the embodied development or the cautionary index, and how to develop the special principles of Wesleyan Methodism as contradistinguished from Kilhamism. Already in 1801, when as yet Bunting was only a probationer, and certainly not as yet near the helm of Conference government, the Conference had followed up the financial legislation of 1797 by enacting, in the spirit of that legislation, that the Circuit stewards should have a right to be present at the meetings of the "District," and to "advise" at the settlement of all financial matters, although no mention is made of this almost unnoted, but most important, legislation in the *Minutes of Conference* for that year, and the fact is only to be learnt from a sentence at the end of the *Arminian Magazine* for December. Further, in 1803, the Conference appointed the first Connexional Mixed Committee, the Committee of Privileges, to "guard our religious privileges." "This was the germ," says the biographer, "of our present financial economy; though those who planted it little thought how high it would grow. It was not possible, however, that Jabez Bunting's clear comprehension of the present, and foresight of the future, should fail to see in it the commencement of a new order of things and the foundation of a new policy. But neither did he conjecture that this policy was to be distinctively and emphatically his own" (p. 204).

It was in 1802, at the beginning of his third year of probation, that Bunting was first appointed to London. Young as he was, his diary, written for his future wife, discloses the fact that he was, from the beginning, taken into counsel and sometimes used as a sort of secretary by senior ministers then stationed in London, who had a leading responsibility in the affairs of the Connexion, and was also brought into close intercourse with the chief laymen of London, who were, from force of circumstances, the leading laymen of the Connexion. During the two years at this period spent in London, Bunting laid, in fact, the foundations of his life's greatness both within and beyond Methodism. At the age of twenty-five, when he left London, he had become eminent

among the evangelical community of the metropolis. He was on terms of personal friendship with the leading Dissenting ministers, and was sought after as an occasional preacher in their pulpits. His pulpit power was, beyond question, the first and chief basis on which all his public greatness rested, but to this were added his special charms of character and manner, and the remarkable combination of business-like facility at all points with sagacious grasp of principles on which his administrative pre-eminence largely depended. In 1804 he exchanged London for Manchester, the most important centre at that time of Methodism in the north. His mind now began to be influential and his hand to be asked for and to be felt in moulding the legislation of the Conference; and in 1806, seven years after his acceptance as a probationer, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Conference, in which capacity it was his duty to make up for the deficiencies of Dr. Coke, always and distractingly occupied about many things, who was a sort of Permanent Secretary of the Conference, as well as factotum for Mission work, both at home and abroad. From this time forth the hand of Bunting was that which had most to do with the guidance of Conference legislation. In 1814 he succeeded Dr. Coke in the secretaryship. In 1820 he was elected President of the Conference, and again in 1828, in 1836, and in 1844.

We have spoken of two collateral lines of development which formed the continual subject of Bunting's thought and care, one relating to the qualifications of the ministers for their office and work, and to the reputation of all that rightfully appertained to their administrative character and functions, the other relating to lay-rights of consultation and co-operation. The latter was Bunting's earliest line of operation, and, although in this article we cannot give even an outline of what it included, it occupied at first a larger space in the progressive legislation of the Conference than the other; at the same time, the due legislative provision for ministerial fitness, training, discipline, and correlative prerogative and functions, was always regarded by him as a necessary concomitant and counterbalance. Neither of these movements could be apart from the other. To ministerial prerogative in

the government of the Societies nothing was added by the legislation for which Dr. Bunting was mainly responsible, as, indeed, nothing has been added since the days of Wesley.* But the existence of a Scriptural prerogative belonging to the pastorate, and the relations of such prerogative to lay rights and to general administration and government, have been made clear and effective by means of proper exposition and regulations. What Dr. Bunting took the chief part in effecting as regards the definition and development of lay co-operation with the ministers was, we repeat, largely lost sight of; it was not recognized by those who complained in his lifetime of his policy. What he did in respect of the ministers—although not only reasonable but pressingly necessary—was made ground of complaint and calumny. The man who took the chief part in doing all that was done to recognize, elicit, and develop the faculties and forces of the laity, and to secure full definition and security for their rights, and who, at the same time, as this volume is sufficient to prove to the candid reader, was careful beyond almost any other man to guard against any usurpation on the part of the ministers, has been maligned and pursued with bitter animosity, as if he had trampled upon the rights of the laity and built up a system of ministerial tyranny. This is the strange fact which calls for explanation. It cannot be explained without keeping in view the antecedent conditions, and the outside influences, which, during the whole half century of Dr. Bunting's active ministerial life, influenced the temper and tendencies of the Wesleyan Connexion, especially as regards certain classes of the people and certain periods of excitement.

At the beginning of the century, Methodist preachers had great governing and administrative power and prerogative, very little less, in most respects, than they had been accustomed to exercise in Mr. Wesley's lifetime, subject in theory indeed, but

* Those who desire to see the abundant and conclusive evidence by which this assertion can be made good may be referred to Dr. Beecham's *Essay on Wesleyan Polity*, to Dr. Rigg's *Principles of Methodism*, to Dr. Smith's *History of Methodism*, vols. ii. and iii., and to the Rev. W. Arthur's pamphlet, entitled, *Has the Conference broken Covenant?*—all of which may be had at the Wesleyan Book-Room (Woolmer).

yet little subject for the most part in practice, to Mr. Wesley's supreme power and jurisdiction. At the same time their *ministerial* character and prerogative, as exercising among the churches the pastoral office, and bearing the responsibilities of that office as these are set forth in Scripture, and are founded accordingly on a basis of sacred right and duty, and not upon mere custom and possession, were very little understood or acknowledged. A large proportion of the Methodist people, although they desired to receive the sacraments from their own ministers, regarded them as little other than lay preachers. For fifty years that had been their technical description and status, although, in reality, they had, in everything except the administration of the sacraments, acted as the "pastors and teachers," the "elders" and "bishops" (Acts xx. 28) of the flock. How the status of the preachers had been elevated, and their pastoral character formally completed, by the new liberty and law of sacramental administration, was, by many of the less instructed among the "members of Society," not recognized or understood. Indeed, for some years after 1795, the usage as to such administration was not uniform or universal, and the preacher who administered in one Circuit or Society might be precluded from administering in another. A good many years, indeed, afterwards, as this biography shows us (p. 353), local preachers in some places—or at least some local preachers in some places—claimed the right to administer and did occasionally administer the sacraments. The class of persons who, by reason of their general position, character, and opinions, would have counteracted most powerfully these loose and levelling views and tendencies on the part of some of the less informed and more impulsive multitude, had, to a considerable extent, seceded from the Connexion in 1795-6. These were the strong Church-Methodists, many of them original trustees of chapels, in some cases personal friends of the Wesleys, especially of Charles Wesley, who, having been professed, but not practical, Churchmen while Wesley lived, after his death became much more zealous and punctilious supporters of the Established Church than they had ever been before. Many of these "old Methodists" would have had the problem of carrying on Methodism after Wesley's death solved by the way of settled pastorates under

trustees. Most of them, in order to closer union with the Church of England, would have desired a number of the preachers to receive Episcopal ordination. The secession of a considerable number of this class of Methodists, after the Conference yielded to the general demand of the Societies for the administration to them of the sacraments by their own preachers, left the levelling and anti-ministerial element all the more powerful among the Societies, the views of this class of Methodists in 1800 having a general resemblance, on ecclesiastical points, and apart from the question of election or predestination, to those of the "Plymouth Brethren" of the present day.

To see a ministerial order developed was thus contrary to the prejudices, from the beginning, of a certain proportion of the Methodists. That the preachers should claim to be ministers at all was an offence. If they had still been regarded as merely paid lay-preachers, it is not unlikely that some would have made less difficulty about yielding them the full tale of high and practically unchecked prerogative which they had exercised as Mr. Wesley's assistant preachers than was made by men of the same spirit in after years, as to admitting the defined, guarded, and moderated prerogative which, under Dr. Bunting's guidance, came to be recognized as the rights of the ministers.

This feeling, on the part of not a few Methodists of the early years of the century, was, of course, all the stronger, because many of the preachers were men of little education, and lacked the cultivation and training which were common among Dissenting ministers. They were thus neither qualified by episcopal orders, on the one hand, nor by professional learning, on the other. That they had the higher "gifts and calling," which had led to their appointment as able preachers of the word of grace and salvation, was indeed true, and was the justification of their position. Nevertheless there was a weakness in the condition we have now described which could not but be recognized by thoughtful and intelligent Wesleyans, whether ministers or people, and however loyal they were to their own Methodism, in its historical character and the great work which manifestly lay before it. It was Bunting's

appreciation of these conditions that led him to lay so much stress, from the very first, as his early diary and letters show, on the improvement in his own communion of ministerial qualification, and on the application to the whole body of ministers, and especially in the case of candidates and probationers, of the highest tests of character and fitness. It was this feeling which inspired, in 1820, that wonderful pastoral manual of his preparing, the "Liverpool Minutes." It was this which led him, for five-and-twenty years, in spite of misunderstanding and prejudice among some of the preachers as well as of the people, patiently to prepare the way for the special education and training of candidates for the ministry, and when, at length, in 1834, he was appointed President of the Theological Institution, though the appointment brought to a head the antagonism of the old leaven of anti-ministerial jealousy which had been fermenting, more or less, for more than a generation, the pre-eminent fitness and justice of the appointment were beyond reasonable controversy. It was in the same enlightened spirit that he, who had himself been appointed a minister merely by a vote of the Conference, nevertheless felt, and, when and so far as he could do so prudently, urged upon others—though for years he seems to have made but little impression even upon his ministerial brethren—the importance of not only a distinct and adequate probation for the ministry, but also of a solemn and public ordination to the office, a development which, at length, by general consent, was consummated, in the year of his own third Presidency, at the Birmingham Conference of 1836.

But all this was the development of a clearly defined and properly furnished and equipped ministerial order; and the prejudices of levelling Methodists, though one-sided and unjust in overlooking all that, in face of strong prejudices, Dr. Bunting had begun, at an earlier period, to do, and had never ceased to carry forward, in the way of organizing and developing lay co-operation, in the administration of the Connexion, were nevertheless shrewdly on the scent when they fastened upon Dr. Bunting and his counsels and personal influence as the main forces which were building up an ordered Methodist church, a community in which the distinction between the

pastorate and the flock, in respect to spiritual vocation and responsibility, was a fundamental principle. He was creating a new variety of Presbyterian Church, with a body of ministers possessing a defined and impregnable position. At the bottom the levellers objected to any such order of ministers.

As we have seen, this feeling was coeval with the first organization of Methodism as a separate community after the death of Wesley. The New Connexion was, in fact, an embodiment of the principles which underlay this feeling. In that Connexion, as Mr. Simon has shown, not only in the pages of this journal, but more fully and in sharper detail in his recent pamphlet, the ministerial office was reduced to a mere name—indeed it was hardly so much as a name—and scarcely a shadow of pastoral authority was left; the faculty of admission into or exclusion from the church was one in regard to which the minister had no peculiar responsibility; the sacraments were not placed with any special responsibility under his charge; the minister was devoid of any prerogative, while he was dependent for his maintenance, and for his character and position, on those to whom he ministered. He was accordingly destitute of anything like independence or initiative power in regard to the discipline and general guidance of his flock. It is true that the proportion of Methodists who, in the Kilhamite division, chose to separate from their own famous evangelistic leaders, “the elders that outlived Joshua,” the immediate successors of Wesley, in order to follow one young man in founding a Connexion on such principles, was comparatively insignificant: less than six thousand. But that even so many did, in this division, follow one who had no remarkable gifts as a popular leader, shows that there must have been a considerable leaven of such opinions as we have described among the Societies—a leaven of which we may be certain that a good deal was, after the division, left behind in the “Old Connexion.” In Manchester, especially, Bunting’s native town, as this biography shows, there was a troublesome element of irregularity and turbulence connected with prejudices and practices opposed to church order and ministerial authority (p. 230). Bunting’s object was to have

such a body of ministers, and such a discipline established among ministers and people, that in process of time this leaven might work itself out without any violent agitation. But for the intermixture, with the remains of the spirit of ecclesiastical insubordination, of intense and violent political influences, arising at successive crises of public affairs, and of evil jealousy on the part of some ministers of the body, Mr. Bunting's wise policy would have been not only a complete but a peaceful success. It is, at any rate, to this policy that Wesleyan Methodism owes its position as a church at this day.

We may mention, as one illustration of the temper to which we have referred as having a hold on the Societies, that many years elapsed after Wesley's death, and twelve or fifteen after Jabez Bunting entered the Methodist ministry, before the title of *Reverend*—a much less fitting title than that of *Pastor*, as in use in the Continental Reformed Churches, but one which, in England, had come to be in general use as an equivalent to such a designation—came to be generally applied to Wesleyan ministers, and it can hardly be said to have been Connexionally accepted till still later, although it had long been in use as the designation of ordained Nonconformist pastors.

The deep and bitter prejudice against the introduction of organs into Methodist chapels, which led to the "Protestant Methodist" secession in Leeds in 1828, and which had great hold on the West Riding Societies, was part of the same general feeling and tendency of which we have been speaking, and which in the West Riding had been fostered by influences that seem to have had their origin in the preaching and teaching of Wesley's early friend, Ingham—influences strongly savouring of what might to-day be called low Dissent, or perhaps of a Plymouth-Brotherish character, and which, but for good John Nelson's soundness and loyalty as a follower of Wesley, would have done more harm than they actually did. In the course of this biography striking traces are disclosed of the wide prevalence of such ideas as we are referring to in the West Riding, in one form in Huddersfield, in another near Halifax (pp. 294, 312, 314, 394), and, in respect to the organ question, especially in Leeds. An organ meant a solemn,

perhaps a stately, public service, conducted by an educated order of ministers. Such was the suspicion, the unformulated inference, of the "Free Church" Methodists of sixty years ago. Whereas the band of stringed instruments, together with the numerous choir, was consistent with a free and easy service in which promiscuous influences might dominate (p. 226).

Just so also it was in regard to the question of an educated and trained ministry, which came to its crisis a few years later than the organ controversy, in 1834-5, in connection with the foundation by the Conference of a Theological Institution. This question brought to a focus the anti-ministerial feeling existing in different parts of the Connexion. Ministerial jealousy of Dr. Bunting united in this case with anti-ministerial prejudices. A minister, Dr. Warren, who had long been a strong advocate of ministerial training, and of the proposed Theological Institution, when he found that he was not likely to be placed at the head of it, turned about, opposed the project, and put himself at the head of the agitation against it. The result was a great Chancery suit—for he claimed, with the sanction of some of the trustees, notwithstanding his disciplinary suspension, to have control of the pulpit of Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester—and the consequent recognition by the High Court of Chancery of Mr. Wesley's Deed of Declaration and of the "Minutes" of the Conference as legal authorities binding upon Wesleyan ministers and trustees. The result also was unlimited defamation of Dr. Bunting's character. Bitterness had, in fact, been added to this agitation by the intermixture with ecclesiastical of political democratic ideas. After 1828, when the "Protestant Methodist" secession took place, the current of political affairs hurried swiftly on to the rapids, "of which the Reform Act marked the centre and the point of maximum movement. A body like Wesleyan Methodism could not but feel in great force the sweep of this movement," which had by no means exhausted its momentum in 1834.

The effect of the secession of 1836 on the general progress of the Connexion was not great. The loss was comparatively inconsiderable—not sufficient to prevent an increase in the annual return of Church-members—and during the twelve

years following, in the course of which the wonderful Centenary movement of Methodism took place, the advance of the Connexion in all respects was apparently unprecedented. In the midst, however, of all this apparent prosperity, partly, perhaps, in consequence of it, very perilous elements were at work. "The revolutionary ideas of the Chartist period (1840-8) and of Continental politics (1848-9), reacted on Wesleyan Methodism as the political ideas of 1791 and 1831 had done at those epochs. The embers of old controversies—ecclesiastical, quasi-political, and personal—still smouldered, and at length burst into fresh flame." The result was the disastrous agitation of 1849-1851, which absorbed into itself the residuary discontents, animosities, and suspicions of the preceding generation. From that agitation the Connexion did not begin to rally till about the year 1857, since which time there has been much free ventilation of opinion and much done in the way of peaceful reform and development, but little factious or evil-minded agitation. Dr. Bunting's physical energy had sensibly abated, and personal sorrows as well as bodily infirmity had told heavily upon him as early as 1845, the year following his last Presidency. From that time he gradually retired from the forefront of the Connexion, and exerted less and less active influence and guidance in affairs. He died, as we have noted, in 1858.

We shall not attempt, in the present article, to review the agitation of 1849. An authentic and excellent account of it may be found in Dr. Smith's *History of Methodism*, and Mr. Rowe has, with excellent judgment, dealt, in the volume we have been reviewing, with Dr. Bunting's relations to it. When we return to the subject of this biography, we may have something to say in relation to it. Our object in this article will have been accomplished when we have added some further remarks upon the position in which, by the course of his policy, and by the preceding agitations, Dr. Bunting had been, for many years before 1849, not through his own fault or error to any considerable extent, though even so great and good a man was certainly not free from imperfections or infallible in his judgments, but mainly through his virtues and excellences, mainly because of his true greatness and wisdom,

placed before the eyes of a considerable portion of the community, both within and beyond Methodism, as an enemy of popular liberty in Church and State. Never was a falser prejudice; our desire is to show yet more fully how it originated and obtained such acceptance as it did obtain.

So far as the question of democratic ecclesiasticism is concerned, and all that is associated with it, we have already explained his position and the prejudices which gathered around it. Nor will it be difficult to see how, to many, it would seem that an opponent of democratic domination in the affairs of Christ's church must needs be opposed to popular liberty. The Congregational churches have generally been disposed to identify Congregationalism and liberty, although so to do is, according to all historical evidence, an altogether unwarranted assumption, so much so that a contrary assumption would be almost as capable of being sustained. It is no wonder, accordingly, if Methodist seceders and agitators have fallen into a similar error. As a matter of fact, Dr. Bunting, the pupil of Dr. Percival, would seem, as might have been expected, to have been more of a constitutional Whig in his politics than of any other school that could be named. He was, however, too great and too truly liberal to belong to any school. At the time that the "Protestant Methodists" denounced what they regarded, forsooth, as his illiberal principles, he was offending the leading Whig even more than other Methodists; he was, in fact, giving offence to the Methodists generally, both ministers and people, by refusing to take any part in opposition to Catholic emancipation. Again, a few years later, he incurred the scurrilous attacks of a political Methodist newspaper,* the object of which was to drag Wesleyan Methodism into alliance with active Dissent and into organized antagonism to the Church of England, especially as a State Church, by voting, at a famous Liverpool election, for the excellent Lord Sandon, afterwards long known and most highly esteemed as the Earl of Harrowby, a Christian politician and philanthropist, a liberal and large-hearted nobleman, if ever there was one, a man, too, of many accomplishments, and by refusing to vote

* This paper was called the *Christian Advocate*.

for a Radical opponent, whose opinions and tendencies were hardly likely to command the respect of a Christian politician who was superior to the passions of party politics.* Again, Dr. Bunting gave great offence to violent anti-State Church politicians by his defence of the action of the Manchester District Meeting, in the case of the Rev. Joseph Raynar Stephens, who was an active official of the "Church Separation Society" and a violent public politician. The subsequent history of this gifted man, but extremely violent and imprudent politician, which included a public prosecution, followed by imprisonment, after which he retired to Ashton-under-Lyne, and was known for many years as a steady and orderly Conservative, might of itself suffice as a moral presumption that the firm though temperate requirements, his rejection of which led to his suspension from the ministry, were just and needful. This gentleman's brother, however, was the editor of the *Christian Advocate*. "It is not surprising," says Mr. Rowe, "that the attacks of that singularly unchristian print were more angry and unscrupulous than ever. All possible means were used with unwearied diligence to produce disaffection and division among the Methodist people."

But perhaps a deeper cause of political animosity, superadded to ecclesiastical opposition, against Dr. Bunting, is to be found in the part he had taken, at a much earlier period of his ministry, in connection with the "Luddite" sedition. Much as Bunting, at that time stationed in Halifax, sympathized with the sufferings of the poor artisans, it was his duty, which he fearlessly fulfilled, to preach plainly and to use all his influence against the Luddite outrages. The consequence was that his life was continually threatened in anonymous letters, and, for some months, he never travelled at night unattended by his friends. His influence prevailed so as to preserve his flock, in their sore sufferings and temptations, from being carried away into unlawful and violent courses. Not unnaturally, though very unjustly, the "lawless and disobedient," and many more, not themselves

* Dr. Bunting's chief future calumniator was, at this time, his active defender. He defended Dr. Bunting's vote in a pamphlet; as he afterwards wrote a pamphlet in his vindication on the question of the Theological Institution.

offenders, who sympathized with these in the hardships which the introduction of machinery into the cloth-making trade, and the pressure of war and famine prices, brought upon them, regarded the powerful Methodist preacher as the friend and abettor of the masters in oppression, and as unfriendly to the claims of poor artisans. No calumny was ever more unfounded. But it is easy to understand how it originated and prevailed. Although the prejudice originated in 1812, it was likely to be handed down in the line of trade agitation and of Chartist demands. Besides which, a few years later, in the dreary and terrible year 1819, Bunting drew up an address, which was issued by the Wesleyan Committee of Privileges, in which, with warm expressions of sympathy, the suffering poor of the manufacturing districts were exhorted to "bear their privations with patience, and to seek relief, not in schemes of agitation and crime, but in a reliance on Divine Providence, and in united prayers for the blessing of God on our country and on themselves." In regard to this period of trial, the biographer says of his father: "As an Englishman and a lover of liberty, civil and religious, and educated by Percival in the principles of a Whig of the old school, he was a firm Royalist, and had learned by his experience at Halifax to dread secret even more than open disorder." In regard to the circular of the Committee of Privileges, he adds: "This document must be read in the light of the times in which it was issued, and times are changed. . . . Wise counsels ultimately prevailed and the Connexion was preserved in substantial peace. There is no doubt, however, that the events of that epoch subsequently influenced materially some separations from the parent body." Thus the Luddite riots of 1812 and the year of Peterloo (1819) both contributed to create a popular prejudice against the strong preacher, whose voice was a power on the side of law and order. His commanding personality and immense influence, standing, as he did, alone among the preachers of the time in public character and sway, drew down on him, as a centre and a sort of lightning-conductor, the popular animosity which burned against all who upheld the established social and industrial order of the commonwealth.

When all that we have stated is taken into account, it

remains no longer a mystery that Dr. Bunting—whilst no man in the country had more or warmer admirers and friends, whilst no man was more revered, not only within, but also beyond Methodism, while the leaders of Christian philanthropy and true Christian progress, alike in England and in Scotland, treated him with extraordinary confidence and honour, as they had done for a whole generation—was, in the quarters which have been indicated, regarded with suspicion and dislike, which rose even to animosity and bitter virulence.

"He," says his son, "who, more than any living man, had established the rights of the Christian people, was denounced as the leader of a ministerial oligarchy. Such must be the lot of all men, however able and disinterested, upon whom lies the burden of practically controlling large popular communities. . . . Thus it was that he was put into the pillory of almost universal discussion; and anybody who had a stone to throw had his chance. The disturbance among the Methodists, too, was fair game for the secular press, the quasi-Liberal portion of which, of course, took the part of those alleging grievances. He knew well that his brethren in the ministry, and the vast masses of the people, did and would stand by him; but, meanwhile, in the eyes of the outside world, and still more painfully, of those in other religious communities, who recognized and revered him as their common property and pride, he appeared as the main subject of a disgusting quarrel" (p. 601).

This was written in reference to the "Protestant Methodist" secession at Leeds, and the controversies which grew out of it. But the words apply no less strictly and forcibly to the position of Dr. Bunting twenty years later. One new element, indeed, had then entered into the case as respected Dr. Bunting. His son, the biographer, who has written the six hundred pages and more, which are his part in this volume, with singular impartiality of judgment and temperance of statement, has written, indeed, throughout in a truly liberal spirit, became, about the time of the Centenary movement in Methodism (1839-1840), widely known at the same time as an active and influential Wesleyan layman and as an active and zealous Tory lawyer and political manager in Manchester.* In those

* The late Mr. Percival Bunting has been heard to say that (like his father) he was originally a Whig, but that the relations of the Melbourne Ministry with O'Connell and the aspect of the Whig party towards Romanism in Ireland made a Tory of him. As a Methodist, he was what may be described as a Liberal Conservative, very zealous in favour of the utmost reasonable extension of lay representation and co-operation.

days of violent party feeling, the politics of the son were mixed up, by a very injurious though almost inevitable error, with the views and policy of the father, with the effect of rendering more intense the politico-ecclesiastical rancour of which he was the object.

We have said very little of the foes from among his own brethren, who, in the later years of his life, banded together against Dr. Bunting. They were very few, but very violent and unscrupulous. The chief of them was a man of singular malice and subtlety—a man of disappointed ambition. In reference to this matter, we cannot refrain from quoting some words of the biographer: "No commotion has ever yet disturbed the body" (*i.e.* the Methodist body) "which may not be traced distinctly to some member of the pastorate. This record may be unwelcome; but it is suggestive and monitory; and it will be forgiven in the interests of the general peace, prosperity and usefulness" (p. 435).

The reply, as we have already said, to the calumnies which were circulated in regard to Dr. Bunting in his lifetime, and the conclusive evidence as to his goodness and greatness, are contained in the biography which is now happily completed, and to the attractions of which in this article we have done so little justice. Here the life, the inmost character and thoughts of the man himself, are laid open to view. He is seen to have been not merely a humble and earnest Christian, not merely a Gospel preacher of extraordinary ability and power, but a truly great, wise, and equitable man. He had as few faults as we can expect to find in even a good man, especially if he is also a man of vast energy and great and ready gifts. Sometimes, on personal questions, hardly ever on a question of principle, his judgment, as Mr. Rowe intimates, failed him. But imperfections such as these are inseparable from humanity. Take him for all in all, he was, we repeat, the greatest and wisest man, the grandest character, which Methodism has produced since the death of Wesley.

ART. VIII.—POPE LEO XIII.

Life of Leo XIII., from an authentic Memoir furnished by his Order, written with the Encouragement, Approbation, and Blessing of His Holiness the Pope. By BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D., L.D. (Laval). London: Sampson Low & Co. 1887.

IN taking up this handsome volume the reader may be troubled with a harassing scruple. Its back is ornamented with a design which includes two keys crossed, interspersed with a quaternion of capital P's, and surmounted by the triple crown of the Papacy. By perusing its pages will he put himself within the formidable "power of the keys"? The keys in question, however, are so far "reformed" in their construction as to present some resemblance to two Chubb or Bramah latch-keys. On the side of the book is a motto with which the sturdiest Protestant can agree: *Lumen in cælo*. He need have no doubt about the existence of "light in heaven;" but the Vatican he will scarcely allow to be even a type or shadow of heaven, and its presiding genius he probably will not accept as his ideal of a celestial luminary. Yet this, it appears from the first page of Dr. O'Reilly's book, is the aspect in which we ought to regard Leo XIII. To Pio Nono, the pontiff who weathered so unhappily the storms of 1848-9 and following years, he appropriates three mystic words—*Cruz de Cruce*—from "the celebrated prophecy attributed to St. Malachy;" while on his much superior successor he bestows another fragment from the same legend, as being happily descriptive of the present occupant of St. Peter's chair, whose advent and reign he regards as "Light in the Heavens."

Light or no light, we can have no question as to the interest which attaches to a Life of the present venerable pontiff. Head of the greatest Christian organization of the day, wielding a spiritual authority which makes itself felt by many millions scattered over the globe, and from which its subjects have no appeal, a living Pope—galvanized anachronism though he may be—demands intelligent study and fair appre-

ciation. How he rose to his present perilous pre-eminence is a matter which will secure the attention of a large world of readers, and Dr. O'Reilly's painstaking pages furnish ample information on the point. In our scanty space we can but endeavour to set forth the main facts of his life, leaving untouched the gems of moral reflection and the flints of controversy with which the biography is plentifully strewn.

Leo XIII. was born at Carpineto, not far from Rome, on March 2, 1810, and had from his birth many advantages for his coming career. He was not the son of a shepherd, like Benedict XII., nor of a miller, like Benedict XIII., but of a Count—Domenico Lodovico Pecci, the representative of an old Siennese family, who had married the daughter of another noble house, Anna Prosperi-Buzi, a lady who brought her husband a notable increase of property. The future Pope was her fourth son, and was baptized with an affluence of fine names—Joachim Vincent Raphael Louis—for each of which there was of course a good and sufficient reason. The second appellation, Vincent, was given him by the wish of his mother, who entertained special veneration for "the great Dominican missionary, St. Vincent Ferrer, Archbishop of Valencia;" and he was known as Vincent Pecci till some years after his mother's death, when, "especially since 1830, he assumed and retained exclusively the name of Joachim." His biographer solemnly propounds this puzzling question: "Was this to show still more his reverence for the memory of this admirable woman?" We unhesitatingly reply, Certainly not; for it seems to us the very reverse of affectionate remembrance for a son to drop the pet name which his mother loved and make use of another in its stead. But Dr. O'Reilly, both here and elsewhere, fully justifies the appropriateness of his own unmistakable patronymic.

There can be no doubt as to the great influence which the Countess exercised on her son's life. She appears to have been a good woman, abounding in charity to the poor, and full of devotion to her church, and tender love to her children. Carpineto is a quiet little town, lying high up in a cleft of the Monti Lepini, part of the Volscian range, and is rather difficult of access from the Latian valley beneath. In this

"eagle's nest" young Pecci was reared, under his mother's wing, till his eighth year. On the downfall of the first Napoleon, Pope Pius VII., who had been held captive by the imperious Corsican, set himself, on his return to Rome, to restore the Society of Jesus, which had been suppressed by Clement XIV.; and to these learned fathers, seasoned and saddened by long years of exile, the Pecci father and mother resolved to entrust their boys. To the new college at Viterbo little Vincent was sent in 1818, with his elder brother Joseph, and remained under Jesuit care for six years, inhaling their peculiar odour of piety, and gaining mastery over the classic tongue of Latium. However excellent as a forcing-frame for the boy's intellectual faculties, this seminary can scarcely have been a healthy place for either his spiritual or his physical development. His bodily vigour, braced up in the fine air of his native hills, held out against the relaxing and fever-fraught atmosphere of Viterbo till he was thirteen, when a severe illness shook his constitution, which never fully recovered its pristine robustness. His mother, while acting a Spartan matron's part in yielding up her boys to the Jesuit fathers, indulged her natural yearnings by living mostly at Rome, so as to be near them, and at the same time to gratify "her own pious tastes" at the headquarters of her church. The vacations spent with her in their mountain home at Carpineto, and her frequent letters to them, helped a little to soften the hardness of scholastic routine.

Meantime the Franciscan monks who had been driven from Carpineto by the French in 1797-8, had returned to their house, and were receiving a helping hand from Count Pecci and his wife. The latter had become a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, which embraces men and women of every rank and profession, and does not bind them with a vow of poverty; and she attended the meetings for devotion and charity held in the monastery chapel, taking her children with her, so that Vincent and his brothers were from childhood familiar with the brown garments and sandalled feet of these friars. When, in 1823, the good mother was seized with mortal sickness, and had in the prime of life to leave husband and children, her body was arrayed in the brown habit and

cord of the Franciscan Tertiaries, and was buried in the Observantine Church of the Forty Martyrs at Rome. About the same time Pius VII., who had had his full share of Papal vicissitudes, slipped out of the troubles of this life, and was succeeded by Leo XII., who set himself at once to the work of repairing the wide breaches made in the walls of the Romish Zion, and of reorganizing the system of government which had been so rudely shaken by the irreverent Gaul. In 1824 he restored the *Collegio Romano* to the care of those faithful and wily sons of the Church, the Jesuits, and in the autumn of the next year its halls were crowded with 1400 students; amongst whom was young Pecci, now fourteen years of age, who availed himself to the full of his educational advantages, and won prizes for Latin composition in prose and verse.

His devotion in these early years to the study of the classic masterpieces, and the ease of expression which he was fast acquiring as well in Latin as in his native Italian, were, without doubt, of incalculable advantage to him in his subsequent career. "Experience," says his biographer in one of his many "improving-the-occasion" passages, "has demonstrated that in our own days, as in the past, the men who in Church and State are the leaders of their fellow-men—like a Newman, a Gladstone, a Leo XIII.—are men who have most assiduously and successfully cultivated classic antiquity:" a sentence to be pondered well by our modern iconoclasts. The embryo Pope, however, did not confine his studies to language, rhetoric and poetry, he distinguished himself also in physics and chemistry, under the tuition of such men as Pianciani and Carafa; and at the close of 1828 was selected to be the chief performer in the public disputations of the college. From this honourable ordeal—which involved appearance before a formidable array of prime scholars and high dignitaries, any of whom would be at liberty to attack his theses and require elaborate replies—young Pecci was preserved by another attack of the fever which had prostrated him in his boyhood at Viterbo.

Moving in such an atmosphere, surrounded by ecclesiastics of the first rank, and observant of the grand openings presented in connection with the Papal Court, it is not to be wondered that Vincent in his twentieth year resolved to devote himself to

the Church, and, not feeling inclined to follow his brother's example in joining the Order of Jesuits, chose the ranks of the secular clergy as the sphere of his labours. In 1830 he matriculated among the divinity students of the Gregorian University, sat at the feet of the Jesuit Gamaliels, Perrone and Patrizi, and soon distinguished himself among his class-mates. Two years later he won his degree of Doctor in Theology, and adopted the less euphonious *Gioacchino*, or Joachim, as his distinguishing appellation. He now had to decide whether he should give himself to a course of parochial duty or enter "the service of the Holy See," that is to say, diplomatic or administrative employment under the Pontifical government. Judging rightly of his own qualifications and aptitudes, he decided in favour of the latter, and entered the academy in which ecclesiastics of noble birth were trained for this branch of their profession.

In 1829 Pius VIII. had succeeded Leo XII. in the Papal chair, and after a brief reign was followed by Gregory XVI., who, having received flaming reports of Dr. Joachim's merits, appointed him to be one of his "domestic prelates," and so gave him his first step on the ladder of promotion. In November 1837, he took holy orders as sub-deacon and deacon; but, though his biographer endeavours to paint a touching picture of his ordination on "a balmy morning in the golden autumn of Rome," it at once becomes evident that he devoted himself not so much to the ordinary work of a priest, as to a political career, suited in fact to an astute man of the world cloaked in priestly habiliments. Of this we need no further evidence than the title of the chapter following immediately on his ordination as priest on December 31 of the same year: "Monsignor Pecci's first shining proofs of practical statesmanship—Governor of Benevento." The province of Benevento, like most other parts of the States of the Church, was then infested with brigands, and had become a refuge for smugglers and evil-doers in general. Here the young priest found a fair field for all his energies. A severe attack of typhoid fever, which brought the brand-new reforming governor to death's door, was yet opportune in giving him an unexpected hold on the affections of his rascal subjects, whose Southern temperaments were equally hot and fierce in love and

in hate. Three years of shrewd, firm administration transformed the forlorn, brigand-ridden province into something savouring a little more of civilization, and won Pecci a name for successful statesmanship. As a consequence, he was promoted in 1841 to the more important governorship of Umbria, and there had to face, in Carbonarism, a foe far more difficult to deal with than the robbers and smugglers of Benevento. Carbonarism was the natural outcome of long years of bad government and priestly intolerance. Where no freedom of thought could be indulged, where every noble aspiration of a citizen was sternly suppressed, secret societies afforded the only breathing-place amid the stifling dungeon-like air of Southern Italy. The proper safety-valves were fastened down; what wonder if the heated vapour at last burst its bounds and overthrew thrones and principalities and powers? Monsignor Pecci did whatever an able man could do in his new province, and was planning yet more for its advancement, when he was removed to a fresh sphere, and found himself—now titular Archbishop of Damietta—appointed Apostolic Nuncio at the Court of Brussels. Here a great struggle was going on between the partisans of secular and denominational education; and he threw all the weight of his personal and official influence into the latter scale. The shrewd, impassive King, Leopold I., recognized in him a foeman worthy of his steel, appreciated his learning and wit, and on one occasion paid him this compliment: "Really, Monsignor, you are as clever a politician as you are an excellent Churchman."

The Archbishop's sojourn at the Belgian Court afforded him an opportunity of visiting England, and forming his own conclusions with regard to its hardened heretics and the softer brethren whom Oxford was just then training for Rome. To that ancient city he was recalled, in 1846, by the moribund Gregory XVI., in order to enter upon the bishopric of Perugia. In one respect this appointment seems to have been a mistake—that is, if a Pope ever can make a mistake. Archbishop Pecci was specially fitted for the sphere of diplomatic influence in which he figured so gracefully; and however admirably he may have administered his Italian diocese during thirty-two eventful years, there can be little doubt that he would have

better served the interests of his church in a more prominent and purely political position. Of his work at Perugia we can give no better summary than in his biographer's own words :

"He lost no time in doing his duty in educating and preparing his flock to withstand the perils which beset their consciences, their homes, and their country. We shall find him instructing them diligently and solidly; creating churches and schools wherever most needed; promoting piety and education in every parish; raising the standard of education in the seminaries destined for clerical students; renovating the great schools of superior education; lifting his eloquent voice, in pastoral letters, to protest against the outrages and injustice done to religion and its chief, and warning, by writings as admirable for their sound doctrine and exquisite literary forms as they are for their opportuneness, the people of Italy and all Christendom against the errors which unsettle and corrupt men's minds in our age, and against the vices begotten of unbelief, the unbridled love of pleasure, and the loss of faith in the eternal world with its rewards and punishments."

Looking back along those years—the lifetime of a whole generation—we see the face of Europe just before its irreparable change. Soon the smooth surface of public affairs, heaving with internal throes, was rent into fragments and altered almost beyond recognition. The manhood of the Continent, tied down and kept in durance by an infatuated ring of inferior rulers, burst the withes of the Philistines, and pulled down the pillars of State on the head of monarch and monk, prince and prelate. In tracing the course of Monsignor Pecci through these stirring times, it is not difficult to sympathize with him in his horror at the volcanic upheavals in his native land; nor is it hard to pardon, with a passing smile, his biographer's inclusion of "Jansenism" among the electric elements that scathed the church and wrought such ruin in priestly eyes. To the unprejudiced student of history the whole scene presents another aspect. In no previous instance had the mighty power of an overruling Providence been more strikingly manifest. The French Republican army with its occupation of Rome, the persevering intrigues of the enthusiastic Mazzini, the underground work of the secret societies of Carbonari, the restless war-fever of Napoleon III. and his colonels, the blindly dashing bravery of Garibaldi, and the diplomatic *finesse* of Cavour, the blunders of Pope and Austrian and

Bourbon—all in a marvellous way contributed to the grand result of a free, constitutional Italy. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* The "Holy Father" was dispossessed of lands to which he had no shadow of title—of secular power, the wielding of which was in direct opposition to the Saviour's declaration: "My kingdom is not of this world"—and of an obsolete tyranny, of which honest John Bunyan had sketched a true portrait two hundred years ago. Instead of tears and lamentations and maledictions, there should have been thanksgiving that the heavily weighted church was at last freed from secular cares and from the corrupting influence of great wealth and irresponsible power.

The highly trained Archbishop, accustomed to command with the double authority of priest and statesman, without doubt felt very uncomfortable when his "Go" and "Do this" fell on unheeding ears. But the Italian church was now only reaping the tares it had itself recklessly sown, in the sloth and sensuality, the uncharity and cruelty of earlier days. Indeed, had its rulers in the bygone years possessed the high tone, the culture, the genial disposition, the wide-awakeness and adaptability to altered times and circumstances which Leo XIII. seems to enjoy, the Roman Church, with all its unpardonable errors, might still have kept its temporal power intact, and still have reared its head among the sovereigns of Europe.

That Cardinal Pecci—he had been promoted to the purple in 1854—fully realized what was the right and only safe course of conduct to be pursued by his clergy in these troublous times, will be seen by the following extracts from his address to the Umbrian and Perugian priests in 1866, the memorable year in which the French garrison was finally withdrawn from Rome:

"The moral conduct of the priest is the mirror into which the people look to find a model for their own demeanour. . . . Every shadow, every stain, is remarked by the vulgar eye; and the mere shadow is enough to make the people lose their esteem of priestly worth. . . . It is impossible that a priest who lays himself open to such reproaches or suspicions, who has the name of being self-indulgent, interested, and of irregular life, should give forth that fragrance of a pure life, 'that sweet odour of Christ,' which witnesses to our worth and to our doctrine, as well in the estimation of those who are saved as in that of those who perish."

"Behold the path which, according to my judgment, should be followed by the clergy in our age. This path will lead them to the sure attainment of the two great means which the Divine Master declares to be indispensable in our holy ministry—*holiness* and *knowledge*. Let every priest be by his example a pure and brilliant light; let him be by his teaching the salt of the earth, and no difficulties can prevent his fulfilling his ministry of reparation."

The absorption of the States of the Church into the kingdom of Italy placed the Cardinal in a trying position, which, however, served to bring into play his fine powers as an ecclesiastical leader, and gave scope to his talents as an earnest and elegant writer in many a pastoral to his bewildered clergy. In 1871 the people of Perugia, among whom he had laboured zealously for five-and-twenty years, resolved to give him a grateful ovation in celebrating with pomp his "silver jubilee." Dr. O'Reilly records the special *vota*, or prayers, which were offered on behalf of the Cardinal Bishop to "Mary Mother of Grace;" to "Holy Lawrence" of the red-hot gridiron—an implement honourably mentioned in the appeal to his saintship; and to "Constantius and Herculanus, bishops and martyrs."

Besides his labours in his diocese, Cardinal Pecci had his share of work as a member of the Sacred College, being on no less than six of the "congregations" which are charged with the administration of the complex affairs of the wide-spread Roman Church. Of his habits of life at this period we have the following account:—

"Rising before the dawn, even in the longest summer days, he was early at the altar, and had paid his debt of worship and devotion when the ordinary occupations of the day claimed his attention. His frugality was that of a hermit; for, while doing nobly the offices of hospitality to invited guests or passing strangers, he allowed himself no indulgence. But these habits of personal austerity and almost monastic asceticism were the hidden secrets of his interior life, known only to the few admitted to his utmost intimacy. To all others whom he received with the dignity and courtesy of a prince, the rigour with which he treated himself could only be guessed from the atmosphere of sweet spirituality which surrounded the man."

In 1877 coming events cast their shadows before, in his appointment by the aged Pio Nono to the important post of

Camerlengo, or Chamberlain of the Roman Church—"a charge involving, during the vacancy of the Papal Chair, the supreme authority to administer the temporalities of the Holy See." It was, in fact, a nomination by the dying pontiff of the man whom he wished to be his successor at the Vatican. On January 7, 1878, Pio Nono expired, after a pontificate of unusual length and vicissitude, in which he had sadly disappointed the hopes of the enthusiasts who had expected to find in him that chimera of imagination—a really liberal Pope. In the *interregnum* of six weeks which occurred before a new occupant could be elected to the Chair of St. Peter, Cardinal Pecci, by right of his office as Chamberlain, carried on the business of the church, and made the requisite arrangements for the election. On February 19th the conclave of sixty-one Cardinals proceeded to the momentous work, locked in the beautiful Sistine Chapel, and provided with separate screens, seats, tables and voting papers. As the result of the first and second ballots Cardinal Pecci had the largest number of votes; but it was not till the third ballot, taken on the next day, that he obtained the two-thirds majority required by the canons. Though he cannot have been unprepared for this result, his emotion and reluctance seem to have been intense. Yet that he had well considered the possibilities of the situation is evident from his "prompt" answer to the sub-dean's question: "By what name do you wish to be called?" "By the name of Leo XIII."

The new Pope, like the sharp man of business he has always been, signalized his election by issuing, the very day after his coronation, a bull which reconstituted the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland. And this was but the beginning of his demonstrations of interest in the outlying portions of his spiritual domains. A skilled diplomatist, he fully perceived the beauty of the precept, *Quieta non movere*; but he also knew well how to bide his time and seize the nice opportunity—the *molliora tempora fandi*—for addressing remonstrance and advice, compliment and congratulation, to haughty monarch and crabbed statesman. With several crowned heads he has steadily won favour by his vigorous encyclicals in denunciation of the dangers to which infidelity and socialism expose the

body politic. His most remarkable success has been with regard to Germany, where Dr. Falk's "May Laws" bore hardly on a church accustomed rather to domineer over others than to endure civil interference with its own arrangements. Knowing that he could not at once produce any change in the determinations of the Emperor William and his Chancellor, he waited patiently, and was at length rewarded for his courteous bearing in June 1883 by a considerable modification of the obnoxious laws, and in May 1886 by their virtual repeal. Meantime, the gratification of the Pontifical politician must have reached a high pitch, when, in 1885, Spain and Germany chose him as the arbitrator in their quarrel about the Caroline Islands, and he had the happiness to please both parties by his decision, and win still greater favour with Prince Bismarck.

Our limits forbid our particularizing his public acts during recent years, with most of which our readers are familiar through the daily papers. Of his personal habits some interesting glimpses are given in Dr. O'Reilly's closing chapter. His final paragraph is worthy of remark :

"The lamp in the Pope's room in the Vatican, shining at night when all around is darkness, gives forth the *Lumen in Cælo*, that supernal light which even now illuminates both hemispheres. No such light, since St. Peter's teaching and virtues shone in that very spot, confounding and appalling the licentious and cruel Nero, ever shed its splendours on the world from the Seven Hills of Rome."

This is a fine panegyric, but casts severe reflections on the long line of bishops, real or imaginary, between St. Peter and Leo XIII. This wonderful old man is pathetically styled "the prisoner of the Vatican," which means simply that he dares not venture into the streets of the Eternal City for fear of popular uproar and personal annoyance. Evidently the Romans have not the most pleasant recollections of their Papal sovereigns. While fully appreciating the charming affability with which His Holiness receives his heretic visitors, we have a shrewd suspicion that were he to regain the temporal power of his predecessors, Rome itself would soon feel the weight of his fatherly hand, Protestant chapels and schools would be closed, and Mr. Piggott's eloquent voice would no

longer be heard proclaiming in musical Italian the Gospel of the grace of God. For, however far our Papal friends may have advanced in demonstrations of goodwill to those who are no longer under their yoke, this volume affords abundant proof that Luther's grand revolt has never been forgiven, and that Protestantism in all its forms is still regarded as a blunder and a crime. Those who study this book dispassionately will see that so long as Rome retains her corrupt practices and intolerant principles there is still need of watchful heed and unflinching protest against the bitter enemy of religious liberty, even though its leader has the gloved hand and velvet tread of the accomplished and amiable Leo XIII.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. Herausgegeben von R. A. LIPSIVS.
Sechster Band enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1886.
Leipzig: Reichardt. 1887.

THE year 1886 produced no new work of first-class rank in the field of Old and New Testament literature, or in that of formal theology. The only exception is Dillmann's *Commentary on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua*, which, although a second edition of the original work, is new from Dillmann's hands. It is characterized, of course, by solid and minute erudition. The standard works are constantly appearing in new and revised editions. Thus, Dillmann's *Genesis* is in the fifth edition, and Meyer's *Commentaries*, greatly transformed, are in the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions.

The most considerable new undertaking is a series of theological handbooks published by Mohr, of Freiburg. It represents the critical school, and needs therefore to be weighed as well as read. Whatever deductions have to be made, and it should be remembered that there is vast improvement in the tone of the school, and that its conclusions are greatly underrated, it is impossible not to admire the thoroughness and solidity of its work. The works that have already appeared are Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, Band i., Weizsäcker's *Apostolische Zeitalter*, Holtzmann's *Einleitung in das N. T.* in a second edition, De la Saussaye's *Religionsgeschichte*, Band i.; and the volumes promised cover the whole ground of theology. Harnack's work is specially able. The author has made the second century his field. He insists very strongly that, while Judaism supplies the substance of Christian doctrine, Greece determined the form in which it is expressed; and he makes it his business to describe this Hellenising process. Undoubtedly there is a basis of truth in the position, although Harnack's conclusions may need to be modified. The number of *Introductions to the New Testament* appearing just now is remarkable. Beside Holtzmann's, just mentioned, we have one by Weiss, the author of the *Life of Christ*. Bleek's *Introduction* has also been republished in a fourth edition by a new editor.

Two new *Lives of Jesus* are in course of production. Of the one by H. H. Wendt, the first part has appeared; of the one by W. Beyschlag, the second. The names of the writers are guarantees for acuteness and

scholarship. Some of the results of their studies are questionable enough; still, even in this field there is great improvement on former writers.

Several works on ethics are worth notice. Gass has published the first section of the second volume of his *Geschichte d. christl. Ethik*, dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among other topics, Jesuit, mystic, and pietistic ethics fall to be reviewed. Paul Christ's *Lehre vom Gebet nach dem N. T.* is commended as a fresh exposition of a practical subject. Wilh. Wundt's *Ethik* (577 pp.) endeavours to ground ethical doctrines on the facts of the moral life, but is diffuse in treatment. O. Pfleiderer's *Grundriss d. christl. Glaubens u. Sittenlehre* has reached a third edition. Like the author, it is able; and it is moderate in size and price.

Two works, written in the interest of Ritschl's teaching, are Bender's *Das Wesen der Religion u. die Grundgesetze der Kirchenbildung* (337 pp.), and Hermann's *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott* (205 pp.). In both the negative tendency of the new school comes clearly to light. All personal intercourse with God is explained away or denied; the only possible intercourse is in and through Christ's teaching and life. God's intercourse with us is the revelation of Himself in Christ, and ours with God consists in prayer, which is essentially gratitude for benefits received. Everything beyond this is "imaginary." In the Ritschl school the supernatural disappears, and Deism is brought back. Bender's more philosophical treatise betrays the same tendency. It is seen again in Ritschl's *Geschichte des Pietismus*, which has just reached its conclusion in a third volume. Pietism, and all mysticism, are so abhorrent to Ritschl, because they lay such stress on the necessity and fact of inward, spiritual religion; and the whole drift of his history is to discredit pietism in all its movements and representatives. We may wonder why Ritschl takes so much trouble about it. But it is incumbent on him to get rid of all teaching which insists on the possibility of special internal workings of grace. It is becoming more and more apparent that Ritschl's theory is the old naturalism speaking in more unctuous tones.

In apologetics, the Catholic Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums*, in several volumes, has passed through several editions; and Heuch's *Das Wesen des Unglaubens. Populäre polemische Vorträge* (Leipzig: Richter) is highly commended.

Historical works well spoken of are Ch. Schmidt's *Précis de l'Histoire de l'Eglise d'Occident pendant le Moyen-âge*, and Rocholl's monograph on Rupert von Deutz (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann).

In homiletics, Linsenmayer's *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl d. Gr. bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrh.*, 490 pp. (München, Stahl), though written by a Catholic, is commended as full of instruction and interest. A third volume brings down Beste's history of the Lutheran pulpit to Spener. Bindemann's *Die Bedeutung des A. T. für die christl. Predigt*, 346 pp. (Bertelsmann), discusses a subject of great importance to the preacher. A volume of sermons by Bassermann, *Akad. Predigten*, 238 pp. (Stuttgart, Cotta), has a preface on the nature and importance of university preaching,

in which the standard is set high, and the sermons are said well to illustrate the rules. High praise is bestowed on a volume of 26 sermons by Ehlers, *Bilder aus dem Leben des Apostels Paulus* (Frankfurt, Diesterweg), which is said to portray the Apostle's life in the light of modern knowledge, and to draw from it surprisingly pertinent lessons for the present. Other good volumes are Fricke's *Gottesgrüsse*, 2 Bde., Luger's *Christus unser Leben*, Meier's *Dein Wort ist meines Fusses Leuchte*, Schulze's *Predigten für sittlich Strebende u. religiös Suchende*.

We are not surprised to find in Germany Henry Drummond's *Das Naturgesetz in der Geisteswelt*, and to hear that it has given rise to a little war of pamphlets and articles.

One of the most interesting things in the Review is the account given of Greek Christian periodicals published at Constantinople. It is most encouraging to find that the chief contents of these periodicals are discussions and expositions of Scripture passages. Thus the *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* devotes long sections to our Lord's rebuke of the Pharisees, and his farewell discourses to the Apostles. The parables and miracles, and Paul's address at Miletus, are also discussed. The Old Testament also is not neglected. This revival of interest in Biblical studies is of good promise for the Eastern Church.

The Homiletic Review. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.
1886 and 1887.

The publishers have sent us a considerable selection of the numbers of this review for the last and the current year. It appears to us to be a journal not unworthy of the attention of clergymen on this side of the Atlantic. It is very carefully edited and full of interesting matter. As exhibiting the most important aspects of applied theology and what may be called pulpit science in America it cannot but have a special interest for preachers in this country. Each number contains a "Review Section," in which preachers and subjects as well as books are reviewed; a "Sermonic Section," consisting of extracts from sermons; a "Miscellaneous Section," an "Editorial Section, and a paper on the "Current Religious Thought of Continental Europe." Under the first section during last year was published a series of "Criticisms on some of the Ablest Representative Preachers of the Day." As might be expected, this series being really and frankly critical, is anonymous. So delicate a work as that of criticizing living preachers could not be impartially and adequately done by a contemporary clergyman, unless done anonymously. These criticisms are "by an eminent professor of Homiletics." One paper is given to Henry Ward Beecher, another to Talmage. From these we shall cull some passages.

"Mr. Beecher's pulpit discourse is singularly destitute of the idea of absolute submission on the part of the human will to authority outside itself. . . . He treated Scripture in the manner of a man who never had dreamed of anything but having his own way with the word of God, and making it mean whatever he chose. The master idea of *obedience* accordingly he missed. He

did not find it, because he did not bring it. . . . I make my criticism deliberately, and I have even hitherto guarded myself needlessly in making it. . . . He not only 'failed to teach obedience; he taught insubordination instead of obedience.'

"Mr. Beecher taught a great many things that Christ taught. But Christ taught obedience to Himself, and this article in Christ's teaching, the capital thing in it, Mr. Beecher managed to miss. Mr. Beecher's morality—I mean the morality he preached—was a good morality in the main, except for the lack in it of the saving principle of *obedience due to Christ as Master*. This lacking, it was not a true Gospel morality."

Mr. Beecher taught, the Professor states, that Paul was "the apostle of manhood," "manhood in Christ Jesus, He being both the model and the inspiration." Man, however, was to be his own master, "master of all society, all *religion, all churches*, all institutions," and "independent of them" all—or, "if he is not, he can be or ought to be."

"Mr. Beecher is 'very bold.' He says: 'In regard to ordinances, those which do you good, observe. If ordinances come to you and say, 'What can we do for you?' and you see nothing that they can do for you, they retire. They are not obligatory on you.'"

"Christ says: 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' Mr. Beecher says: 'That is not obligatory on you.'"

"Mr. Beecher had great faith in protestations of affection. How great let this one following example of utterance, on his part, suffice to show:—

"Mr. Beecher was in the midst of the most dreadful experience of his life. Sunday after Sunday, throughout that protracted agony of exposure and of suspense, this superhuman man stood in his pulpit and preached more as if the sky was serene over his head, than as if the elements about him were dissolving. I describe what was apparently the case. To the deeply considering mind, the particular passage now about to be shown is full of the interior personal passionate anguish of the speaker. Did ever, think you, before, out of the depths, a sinking soul send up a cry like this of hope refusing to despair?—a cry how intense, bursting into imaginative expression how splendid.

"'When I come up before the Eternal Judge and say, all aglow: "My Lord and my God," will he turn to me and say: . . . "You did not come up the right road; . . . go down." I, to the face of Jehovah, will stand and say: "God! I won't go to hell; I will go to heaven. I love thee. Now damn me if thou canst. I love thee." And God shall say, and the heavens flame with double and triple rainbows, and echo with joy: "Dost thou love? Enter in and be for ever blessed." Let us pray.'

"Is it not the sublimity of audacity? And is it not the audacity of despair?"

"When the mind recovers itself, and becomes undazzled from the blinding effect of such sudden magnificence in imagination, it perceives clearly that here is a highly rhetorical expression of what, throughout, is Mr. Beecher's governing thought—namely, that love as a sentiment, an emotion in distinction from love as obedience to God, is the ideal to aim at. I say nothing against this thought; I need, indeed, say nothing whatever about it, except that it is not the ideal presented in Scripture."

The article, as might be expected, is highly eulogistic of Mr. Beecher as a gifted pulpit orator. But though the description of him, under this aspect, is striking and impressive, it does little else than depict, with some variation

of expression, what all Mr. Beecher's intelligent and candid critics have agreed in ascribing to one of the most wonderfully endowed public speakers of whom we have any knowledge. The same number of the *Review* contains a eulogy of Mr. Beecher delivered in his own church as a funeral tribute by Dr. Charles H. Hall, an Episcopalian clergyman of Brooklyn, who was a friend and neighbour of his.

The view which the same critic, in the month preceding (April 1887), gives of Talmage as a preacher is a complete contrast to his estimate of Beecher. Apart from his theology, Beecher was all but perfect, was the most eloquent, versatile, and brilliant, and yet the most natural, of public speakers. Talmage, on the other hand, is full of obedience to the Bible in the strictest and most absolute sense, is intensely evangelical, is profoundly in earnest to save souls, and brings into his earnest evangelical preaching immense force of vitality, carried home by the strongest language and the most striking illustrations, according to his own taste and ideas, which he can command, and by a very distinct and energetic utterance. But as to manner in the pulpit, to taste, style, and general literary merits, he is represented as singularly faulty. "There is no real imagination here," the cultured critic cannot but say, "only a wild, unbridled fancy—no picture presented anywhere, nothing but splashes of bright colour, laid on without form, mingled without harmony." His facial gestures are ugly "distortions," his tones are ill-modulated, and the changes in the voice are violent and unmeaning. In his assertions at hazard he is the most inaccurate and reckless of men. He says, for example, "Charles Lamb could not endure Coleridge." "Waller warred against Cowley." "The hatred of Plato and Xenophon is as immortal as their works." "The inaccuracies now noted appropriately cluster on a single page and in a single paragraph."

One of the most sweeping passages in the critique is as follows, though the last sentence is somewhat redeeming:—

"It has hardly seemed worth while to say that in the organization or plan of a sermon Dr. Talmage is almost entirely wanting. As a rule, there is no order, no progress, no unity, no cumulative effect. There is a series of more or less interesting and striking passages, and the sermon ends. It might have ended before, or it might now go on, with equal fitness, so far as concerns any accomplishment of a purpose in the unfolding of thought. The sermon is a mere loose concatenation of paragraphs. True, the paragraphs—often faulty, no doubt—are seldom without their interest, their value, and their life."

And yet, in this article, which was in type before Beecher died, we are told that, "with one doubtful exception" (the reference no doubt is to Mr. Spurgeon), Talmage is "the most widely heard preacher in the world."

"He has inherited Mr. Beecher, while that wonderful "old man eloquent" still preaches with singularly little diminution of his pristine power. He has not, indeed, inherited Mr. Beecher's pre-eminence in the quality but only in the quantity—the quantity, however, augmented—of audience commanded. If you should count the heads of Dr. Talmage's hearers, in comparison with those of Mr. Beecher's, numbered at whatever point you should choose in the

highest prosperity of the latter's career, Dr. Talmage's majority would be immense. If you should weigh the brains, comparatively, of the two audiences, the disparity would be equally immense in favour of Mr. Beecher's."

In brief, the one good thing which lies at the bottom of Dr. Talmage's unequalled popularity is his earnest and realistic evangelical preaching. But this genuine element is made more attractive with the vast majority of the uneducated or half-uneducated, who have a false taste for that which is loud and sensational, by violences and eccentricities which a good Christian taste ought to condemn. At the same time, let it always be remembered that the miscellaneous and medley crowds that admire Dr. Talmage afford no fair criterion of the average taste of American evangelical Christians. Dr. Hall the Presbyterian pastor of New York, is not an American, he is an Irishman. But he is the most influential pastor, and one of the most instructive and useful preachers in the city. His Church and Church organization are vastly more powerful in their effect on the society of New York and its associated cities of Brooklyn and New Jersey than the utterances of Dr. Talmage. Probably the Church of Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, is still more influential than that of Dr. Hall, while it is beyond doubt very much more so than that of Dr. Talmage.

System of Christian Ethics. By Dr. J. A. DORNER. Translated by Prof. C. M. MEAD, D.D., and Rev. R. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

Dr. Dorner's *Ethics* is the natural and necessary compliment to his theological masterpiece, which has already appeared in English (*System of Christian Doctrine*, 4 vols.), and is marked by the same characteristics—wonderful breadth and symmetry of plan, intense originality and vigour of thought, complete mastery of the material, an eclectic or mediating line of treatment. *Ethics*, it seems, was the author's favourite subject, and we can easily believe it. While there is no less mind than in the dogmatic work, there is more heart, more glow of feeling. Germany is as rich in the ethical field as we are poor, and we are glad to profit by our neighbours' acquisitions. Harless and Martensen are valuable ethical teachers, and Dorner is a welcome addition. If he has less literary grace than his Danish friend, he has more sturdy independence and originality. It is interesting to notice the points of contact between two such spirits as Martensen and Dorner. The former throughout his work insists that Christian ethics is the destined goal and perfection of human life; and this is what Dorner means by the harmony and affinity between the first and the second creation—i.e., between the natural and the moral. Thus we read: "In the first creation the Logos has his pre-existence; it was arranged from the beginning with reference to the moral purpose of the world, and the Logos created it with reference to the second creation, for which it is to be the basis." So again both thinkers take the

same view of the relation of theological or Christian philosophical ethics. The reasons which Dörner gives for the necessity and independent rights of the two systems are full of suggestion. The only drawback is the peculiarity of German modes of expression, but this of course applies to all translations alike. After the translator has done his work, the reader has again to translate into such forms as an English Dörner or Martensen would use. Unless this is done, the book remains a sealed book.

A reference to the outline of the work will show the wide range of its discussions. After preliminary explanations the first part deals with all that is presupposed by Christian Ethics. These presuppositions are three—Man's Natural and Moral Constitution, the Elements of Natural Morality, and the stages of progress towards the Moral Ideal of the world. These fundamental questions are minutely and luminously expounded in sections and chapters. If we wanted an example of the spirit and style of Dörner's teaching, we should take his comparatively brief but rich discussion of the nature, degrees, and historical forms of conscience in the second section of the second division. The different theories are stated and tested with the greatest clearness. Very fine too is the sketch of the world's progress from the endæmonistic to the legal and from the legal stage to Love or the Gospel.

The strength of the work, however, is in the second part treating of the realization of the ideal in Christian Ethics. Here again we have three divisions, with an elaborate apparatus of sections and chapters. The first impression is one of complexity, but slight inspection reveals the naturalness of the connection and the divisions. How noble the conception of the first division—"Christ the God-man as the realization in principle of Morality in Mankind." He is this as "the Revelation of the Law, the All-embracing Virtue, the Principle of the Kingdom of God (of the Highest God)." In other terms, Christ is the centre of ethics as he is of dogmatics. The second division treats of Individual and the third of Social Morals, but in Dörner's own style. His teaching on the genesis, maintenance, growth, and perfection of individual Christian character in its manifold relations, as well as on the Family, the State, Art, Science, the Church in their moral aspects, is full to the bursting-point of beautiful and fruitful thought. The philosophical and the practical are perfectly united.

The position taken by Dörner will generally commend itself to Christian thinkers. While experience and utility have their place in ethical doctrine, they can never give us the highest conceptions of the right and the good. The useful and the right are related, but not identical ideas. Prof. Mead says: "Neither the empirical nor the utilitarian theory of morals receives any support from the author. In spite of the loud-mouthed claims of materialistic and semi-materialistic writers, that the *à priori* and intuitional methods are obsolete, it will have to be confessed by any one who carefully reads this treatise that the last word has not yet been uttered."

The translation is well done. The volume reads pleasantly. The brief sketch of Dr. Dörner's life and character prefixed to the work brings before us a noble personality. We are deeply thankful that a work of such commanding

power is made accessible to the English-speaking Churches, with which Dorner had strong sympathy.

1. *Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By F. GODET, D.D. Translated by Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.
2. *Apologetics; or, The Scientific Vindication of Christianity.* By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. J. MACPHERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

The translation of Godet's four invaluable commentaries is now complete. They are invaluable, not because they exhaust one side of the text, the critical, philological, exegetical, or practical, but because they combine all these elements in admirable proportion. Still their strength is in the exegetical part; the exegesis is fully up to date. When asked for expositions which meet all the wants of the scholarly student, we invariably think of Godet. The present volume does not yield to the former one in interest. The second epistle bristles with questions which test a commentator's strength to the utmost—the conduct of women in public worship, the Lord's Supper, Spiritual Gifts, the Resurrection of Christ and the General Resurrection. The author's conclusions are generally such as commend themselves to our acceptance. The chief exception is as to the two resurrections, pre- and post-millenarian (p. 377). But whether we agree or not, we everywhere admire the commentator's lucidity, point, and spiritual insight. As to the difficult passage, ch. xi. 10, Dr. Godet says: "This term *power* has been understood in many ways, but they are not worth the trouble of enumeration, the meaning is so clear and simple." We rather doubt this. He translates "a sign of power," explaining that the thing is put for the sign. Godet acknowledges that while it is a common practice to put the sign for the thing, the reverse order is rare, and he scarcely succeeds in justifying it. The reference to the angels is explained by their presence in worship. In entering upon the exposition of ch. xv. Godet says: "Doctrine is the vital element in the existence of the Church. The Church itself is in a manner only doctrine assimilated. Any grave corruption in teaching immediately vitiates the body of Christ. The apostle opened his letter by laying down as the foundation of his work, Christ crucified, he concludes it by presenting as the crown of his work, Christ risen. In these two facts, applied to the conscience and appropriated by faith, there is concentrated indeed the whole of the Christian salvation." The exposition of the psychical and spiritual body is very good. "The psychical body is not a body of the same substance as the soul itself, otherwise it would not be a body; but formed by and for a soul. Nor is the spiritual body a body of a spiritual nature; it would still less be a body in that case; but a body formed by and for a principle of life which is a spirit, and fully appropriated to its service." He also argues well for "was seen" in xv. 5, as against "appeared (in vision)." "In

each case the context must decide. In this passage, after "He was raised," the choice is not doubtful; it can only designate a bodily appearance. This is also plain from the very object of this whole enumeration of apostolic testimonies. What is St. Paul's aim? To prove our bodily resurrection. Now it is impossible to understand how a simple vision, a purely spiritual appearance of the Lord, could serve to demonstrate a bodily resurrection." In one or two cases the translator seems to fail in clearness. We do not understand, "As to women, if, under the influence of a sudden inspiration or revelation, they wish to take the word in the assembly to give utterance to a prayer or prophecy, I do not object" (p. 314). "Take the word" may be French, but it is not English.

Ebrard's first volume was largely metaphysical; the second enters upon the more familiar ground of the history of religion. Hinduism, Buddhism, the Greek, Egyptian, and other religions are described with great fulness. As this section, however, is not finished, the application of the argument is still to come. Ebrard's great mastery of the many fields of knowledge coming within his province, and the vigour of his style, make us the more regret that his polemic so often takes a personal form and pushes ridicule and satire to such a length. On p. 89 he says, very truly: *Difficile est satiram non scribere!* He ridicules with great gusto the doctrine that the law of averages disproves free-will. Such acts as eating and drinking, walking, standing, sitting, lying, are free enough; yet their times and modes are all regulated by law (p. 89). He is very severe on Haeckel. "All the same, we scruple not to tear from the phenomenon of Haeckelism the calf-skin that has covered its unshapely limbs, and to show to the public in its true form the idol before which it has been prostrating itself." He speaks just as strongly against the Darwinian theory of evolution, or (what may be a very different thing) the Darwinian theory as Ebrard understands it (p. 4). He understands Darwinianism to acknowledge nothing but material things and processes, and positively to exclude the vital and spiritual. In fact, it is not so much Darwin's theory, as certain presentations of it and inferences from it—not Darwin, but Darwin plus Haeckel—that raises Ebrard's wrath to white heat. "Six proofs that do not prove the point are of no avail." The work, when completed, will undoubtedly be an exceedingly valuable repertory of fact and criticism. The translator has strangely preferred the German to the English form of certain names, "Ardshuna" for "Arjuna" (p. 176).

Praise-Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms. By JOHN DE WITT, D.D., a Member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. New and Revised Edition. London: Funk & Wagnalls. 1886.

It is with pleasure that we call attention to one of the best versions of the Psalter that it has been our fortune to meet with. Feeling that the Revisers

worked under restrictions which prevented them making all the changes necessary in order to a perfect representation of the original, the author offers his work as a specimen of a translation made under freer conditions. He evidently has all the qualifications requisite for the task—adequate Hebrew scholarship, poetic tact, and discernment; a mind open to suggestions, iron diligence, and great devoutness of spirit. "The book as it is, with a mass of material for explanatory notes, which he hopes to issue in a few months, is the result of five or six years of delightful yet exhaustive labour." The principal change is in the more frequent use of the present tense to represent the two principal Hebrew tense forms. The grounds of this change are explained in the preface in a way that will greatly interest the Hebrew student, to whom the work will be most useful as a piece of scholarly translation. The author thoroughly carries out the new theory to the effect that "there are no tenses in the Hebrew. There is nothing in any verb-form to indicate whether it is past, present, or future . . . The time or date of an action must be determined by the context." Another minor change is the frequent omission of the connective particles as needless in English. We can easily believe that "unwearied pains have been taken" in bringing out the force and emphasis of the passages by slight transpositions and careful arrangement. Every page bears witness to an industry that can only be the fruit of intense faith, love, and reverence. We think that both author and readers will be thankful for the result. The Psalms are wonderfully lit up with meaning and read with greater beauty and dignity than ever. Such a work will equally serve the cause of learning and devotion. We heartily subscribe to the author's words, "Why should not individual scholarship and taste be laid under contribution to perform for the poetry of David, and other Hebrew masters of sacred song, what so many gifted minds have done for the poetry of Homer? Many such translations might be made in the interest of Bible study with the greatest benefit."

The Appeal to Life. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. London :
J. Clarke & Co. 1887.

The present work shows the same excellencies and defects as the author's *Freedom of Faith*. The style is fresh, vigorous, and picturesque; the moral sentiment is wholesome; the decisive rejection of Calvinist and Romish perversities is unobjectionable. But the author's attitude towards vital doctrines, on which unbroken silence is maintained, is by no means clear. The most hopeful sentence we have been able to find is one in which the writer says, "We still think of Christ as our personal Saviour from the guilt and misery of personal sin, and still retain Him in all the dear, interior relations of our spirits, our friend and comforter and example." He also sees clearly enough that men cannot live on negations. Still, his own positive teaching has very little that is positive about it. It is so general that we can scarcely imagine any one objecting to it. The "life" to which he appeals is so vague that it

would justify anything. The same is true of the "vital" way of presenting truth, which the preface contrasts with the dogmatic and biblical way, as if the latter could not be vital. The best part of the volume is that which contains the three longer essays on Evolution, Immortality, and Man the Final Form in Creation. In the latter essay the writer argues that evolution does not of necessity involve indefinite progress, and that man is probably the term of the process. The substance of the volume is on the whole good as far as it goes, but it goes a very little way.

1. *Witnesses for Christ and Memorials of Church Life, from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century.* A Sequel to "Early Church History." By E. BACKHOUSE and C. TYLOR. Two Vols. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1887.
2. *A History of Music.* By J. F. ROWBOTHAM. Vol. III. London: Trübner & Co.

A Church history by members of the Society of Friends is a phenomenon of unusual interest. The biographical form of the work is itself characteristic of the importance attached by the Friends to individual life, and in many other ways the authorship is constantly peeping out. Religious persecutions and persecutors are singled out for special condemnation. Chrysostom's history suggests the remark that eloquence has been overvalued. "The popular admiration of this gift, and the prizes offered to those who excel, lead to a contempt of simple Gospel ministry when unaccompanied by learning and eloquence." "Grievous loss was incurred" by the exchange of "the free exercise of prophecy and teaching in the congregation for the ministry of one man only." In the same way the service of art in divine worship is gravely questioned. "The first century, during which the Church was a stranger to art was the most glorious era of her history, and no epoch of Latin Christianity has been further removed from the faith and holy life of the primitive age than that in which Raphael and Michael Angelo exhausted their skill in adorning her temples." Sects like the Paulicians and characters like Jovinian and Vigilantius, for whom ordinary historians have scant praise, receive much sympathy.

The authors remark truly enough, as others have done before them, that great allowance must be made for the fact that our knowledge of many "heretics" and heretical bodies is derived solely from the accounts of their enemies. "No man could ever consent to be judged on the evidence of extracts from his writings made by an adversary." The authors also lay down a just canon when they say that "men are to be weighed in the balance of their own times, and not in that of any other." So far as we observe, they have done their best to act on this rule. The reader will not be surprised to find that shadows are pointed out in the fair fame of some of the Church's great

lives, while others who have hitherto lived in the shade are brought out into the light.

In the earlier period, described in the first volume—from 337 A.D. to 430 A.D.—there is no difficulty in following out the biographical plan. The events group themselves round certain great names—Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, Ulphilas, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. The life and work of these men are brightly sketched. The extracts from their writings give still greater animation to the pages. At the same time the moral and ecclesiastical life of the age is vividly reproduced. Two chapters on “The Spirit of the Age” give details on Worship, the Sacraments, Virginity, Fasting, Alms, Saint-worship, Relics, Monachism. The writers will not allow that the services rendered by the latter atone for its inherent error. “All this does not prove that the institution was Christian or right; it only shows that which we see continually—that God overrules man’s devious methods for the purposes of His own love and goodness.” A good word also is spoken for the Donatists.

In the second volume, which deals with the period 430 A.D. to 1229 A.D., there is less scope for the biographical method. Benedict, Gregory the Great, and Bernard are the greatest names, and they are faithfully depicted. The bulk of the volume, however, relates to general movements of doctrine and Church life. The conversion of Britain, the European offshoot of the Paulicians, Mediæval monasticism, and the reforming movements culminating in the Waldenses and Albigenses, are the chief topics, and they are discussed in a fresh and interesting way. The growth of corruptions both of faith and practice, in Mary-worship, Confession, Purgatory, Indulgences, is carefully treated. Single witnesses for the truth in dark days, such as Claude of Turin, and martyrs whose names are unknown to fame, are worthily commemorated. The history of famous abbeys is brought down to modern days, as where we are told that Bernard’s abbey was converted into a common prison.

Not the least interesting feature of the volumes, as in the earlier work is found in the numerous and excellent illustrations—chromo-lithographs, woodcuts, photographs, etchings—reproducing places and objects of importance. Many of these are from original drawings by E. Backhouse, since deceased. It was scarcely worth while, however, to design imaginary pictures like “Ceolfrid’s Farewell,” “Death of Bede,” and one or two others. The fac-similes of manuscripts are also well done. Mr. Backhouse collected and Mr. Tylor built up the materials of the work. The whole work shows great labour and care in its execution, and will, we are sure, effectually serve the interests of evangelical truth. It is a piece of delightful reading in Church history.

We add Mr. Rowbotham’s book to this notice because of the very different views he and Mr. Backhouse take of the Albigenses. Mr. Backhouse accepts the received account (Milman, Gieseler, &c.), that the ascetic life of the Cathari, &c. (offshoots of the Paulicians), outweighed in Provence the luxurious life of those who kept up in the same district “the courts of love,” &c. “The wife and on sister of the Count of Foix were Waldenses, the other sister belonged to the

Cathari." Mr. Rowbotham, on the other hand, naturally gives more prominence to the troubadour element, and charges the Paterini with being advocates of Free Love, the Bulgarian vagrants (Bougres) with unnatural crimes, the Cathari with being Manichees, whose belief in the Eternal Duality led them to hold that no vice was to be condemned, no virtue to be commended. This different view is strikingly shown in their two accounts of the siege of Béziers. Mr. Rowbotham describes "the jongleurs parading the streets, with viols and guitars, singing *Sirventes*, while the people, under their brave Viscount, manned the bastions. Mr. Backhouse wonders whether those who, "looking deeper into the Gospel than than even Zwingle or Luther, held that Christ's disciple cannot use the sword, were faithful in this hour of trial. History in this case, as in many others, has filled her page with the coarser and the meaner, leaving the nobler and more spiritual traits to be revealed at the last day." Of the books in general it must suffice to say that Mr. Rowbotham deals with the vexed question of the origin of secular music in the Middle Ages, and gives a most graphic sketch of the Wandering Minstrel, and how far he was the descendant of the earlier minstrels (possibly remnants of the Roman stage players, thrown out of employment when the Empire broke up and the Church became all in all). These early men were under the ban of the priesthood; and the stories about them show ("Piper of Hamelin," for instance) that popular feeling connected them with sorcerers.

Apologia ad Hebræos: The Epistle (and Gospel) to the Hebrews.

By ZENAS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

This is a curiously constructed and curiously named book. It professes to be an account of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is intended to establish the Pauline authorship of that letter or argumentative address. In reality it contains a somewhat rambling discussion on a large number of New Testament questions, ranging from the date of the birth of Christ to the authorship and character of the Epistle of St. James. True, the author tells us that he considers the Epistle to the Hebrews to be "the Pole-star of the Scriptural system," whatever that may mean; and he makes this an excuse for gathering together a number of more or less ingenious, more or less extravagant, speculations concerning a variety of New Testament passages and personages. But, until we reach p. 275 of the volume, hardly half a dozen pages have been devoted to the "Hebrews," and not more than one-third of the book can be said to deal with the Epistle itself.

Taking the book as it stands, however, we should not be disposed to quarrel with the name if the subject-matter were carefully thought out, and valuable. We are obliged to say, however, that it appears to us that a great deal of thought, ingenuity, and study of Scripture are here thrown away. The main theses of the book, stated with great care in the Introduction—"That the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul the Apostle with the aid of his ordinary collaborators, Luke and Timothy," "That it was primarily

addressed to the churches of the Philippians"—are not only nowhere proved, but there seems no serious attempt to prove them. Having had occasion ourselves to examine somewhat minutely the vexed question of authorship, we turned eagerly to the pages in which "Zenas," "the sedate lawyer," as he is here described, should shed light on the subject, but we turned in vain. The few ghosts of arguments to be found (pp. 235-243)—to the effect that no one but Paul in the Christian Church had culture enough to write such an epistle; that Paul, having, in the Epistle to the Romans, written a treatise to the Gentiles, might be expected to write one to the Hebrew Christians; together with a few fanciful or forced coincidences of language and allusion—hardly deserve serious notice. There is no discussion in the book of the real points on which the question of authorship turns, the author telling us that he has "profited little from the labours of his predecessors," and that "mainly from the fact that the lifetime of Methuselah would scarcely admit of the assimilation of the books that have been written." A fraction of one of the months of one of the years of Methuselah's lifetime might have sufficed to learn by what kind of investigation the question of the authorship of the Epistle must be determined or elucidated.

The Geneva translation of the Epistle, from the edition of 1576, is printed at length, and a paraphrase by the author. The latter is full of lax and inaccurate renderings, of which the first words, "In many measures and at many turns," as a rendering of *πολυμέρως καὶ πολυτρόπως*, may serve as an example. The commentary which follows is an extraordinary specimen of annotation, the remarks of the author on vicarious sacrifice alone showing him to be quite incapable of fairly presenting—we had almost said of understanding—the thoughts of the Epistle.

We must not discuss "Zenas' " Greek. He tells us first that *πεφανέρωται* (ix. 26) is a future (!), and, having discovered this error, by way of mending the matter, adds that perhaps "in transcribing from a unique exemplar *πεφανέρωται* has been rendered"—what does that mean?—"for *πεφανερῶσεται*." And this without a particle of MSS. evidence! Similar absurd conjectural readings are found concerning *δέρμασιν*, skins (xi. 37), which "Zenas" thinks should be "rendered" *δέρασιν*, cliffs, and others are scattered here and there through the book. The writer further conjectures that *ἠθέλησας* (x. 5) should be "evolved [!] from the regular, if obsolete, verb *ἀθέλω*, 'I exercise no will about,' 'I regard with indifference or wink at'—hence the meaning will be 'sacrifice and fore-offering hast Thou not regarded with indifference' "!! Enough of such trifling; "Zenas" should either learn Greek, or not discuss questions which imply an elementary knowledge of it.

These pages are full of wild speculations concerning Scripture personages, which we need not reproduce in detail. Scripture tells us Simon the Cyrenian had two sons, Alexander and Rufus (Mark xv. 21): the former of these is, according to our author, "con-substantial" with Luke; these two were nephews of Paul, as also was Simeon called Niger, "the swarthy," who was a "foil" to Rufus, "the red-haired," his brother! Mary Magdalene was one

of the persons who let Paul down in the basket at Damascus, and is thus an anti-type of Rahab, identified also with the Mary of Rom. xvi. 6! Secundus, Tertius, and Quartus are supposed, from their names, to belong to the same family! The "little spice of poetry" about Rhoda (p. 76) is fanciful to absurdity.

"Zenas" imagines that previous Bible-students have lost much in not detecting the "ripple of comedy" which runs through St. Luke's writings, and he kindly enlightens his readers on the subject. One example must suffice: "A habit of quibbling with his own name seems to have been chronic with, St. Luke; the people of Lystra are said (Acts xiv. 11) to have lifted up their voices Lycaonistically, *i.e.*, like Lycaonians, or like wolves, or like Luke"! Another example is offensive as well as ridiculous (p. 9). We shall not quote it; it concerns a subject which should have been too sacred for trifling.

We have perhaps said too much about a volume which would not have deserved detailed notice but that, as we have said, the writer evidently possesses ability, and has devoted considerable care to the examination of Scripture, which might have secured valuable results had he set to work upon a sound method and with a sound judgment. The evidently thorough interest in Scripture with which he writes is worthy of better results than *Apologia ad Hebræos* furnishes.

The Scripture Doctrine of the Church, Historically and Exegetically Considered. The Eleventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By the Rev. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

This is an important and valuable work—able, learned, systematic, and, at least in the outline of its argument, exhaustive. Some, indeed, will think that after the tendency of the Scottish Presbyterian school, the Old Testament argument and analogies in regard to the Church of God—beginning with Abraham—and to the elders and officers of the Church, are made too much of. But, however this may be, we must always remember that Free Church Presbyterianism has its maxims and its habits of thought which an official lecturer could not well contravene. The volume is likely to be a standard, and is one which the student of ecclesiastical principles cannot afford to overlook. For the most part, Dr. Bannerman's views and arguments appear to us to be sound. Still he writes with the bias of his Church's special position upon him, and as bound to find its own Presbyterian model in the Apostolic Churches, and at the same time as claiming now to be the great popular Church of Scotland, and seeking, as far as may be, to congregationalize its Presbyterianism. We confess our surprise that Dr. Bannerman should follow Dr. Dale rather than Dr. Davidson and Neander and many recent high authorities in maintaining that the Church of Corinth, where St. Paul wrote his two Epistles, was a Church regularly organized with its presbyter-bishops and its deacons. The evidence against this, though in one sense negative, seems to us to be decisive. All the intrinsic proba-

bilities of the case, as disclosed to view in the Epistles, seem to be opposed to such a conclusion. Dr. Bannerman gives his decision on one point which has lately come under discussion in the *Wesleyan Magazine*, to the effect that the office of "ruling elder" is not at all a lay-office, but a true spiritual episcopacy to which the elders are ordained, having received "the higher Divine call to this service for Christ" (pp. 545-6). This decision should be recognized as authoritative.

1. *The Beginning of the Christian Life.* By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON.
2. *God and Nature.* By the Rev. NEHEMIAH CURNOCK, F.R.M.S.
 "Helps Heavenward Series." London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

We heartily welcome this helpful series of devotional manuals. The Religious Tract Society has already done excellent service with its tastefully got up little volumes called the "Quiet Hours Series," and we are glad to see that Mr. Woolmer is working in the same field. Such books have a distinct value. They form a happy supplement to Bible reading, and act as a stimulus to Christian earnestness and devout meditation. Mr. Watkinson and his co-editor, Mr. Arthur Gregory, say, in their brief "General Introduction": "The aim of our little Manuals is simply to 'help heavenward' those who confess themselves strangers and pilgrims upon earth, and who declare plainly that they seek a fatherland—a country of their own." To aid these our companions in pilgrimage in the various stages of the journey, to point out the helps by the way graciously vouchsafed to us by God's Spirit and His Word, to warn against some of the many foes who beset our path, and to direct attention to the weapons of our warfare wherewith they may be met and vanquished, are the only objects of our ambition." No one can read the first volume of the Series, prepared by Mr. Watkinson himself, without feeling that it breathes the spirit of this introduction. It is written in his happiest style. Illustrations—new and old—point every argument and appeal, so that the reader is charmed at every turn of the road. No subject could have been more appropriate for the beginning of the Series. It is opened up in eight brief chapters: Begin early, Putting off, Putting on, Confession of Christ, Earnestness, Dangers, Encouragements, Aspirations. A sentence or two from the counsels on earnestness will show their style: "From the beginning of spiritual life dread any lack of enthusiasm. The virtues, in the fulness of their bloom, are only possible where the hidden fire burns; the wide sweep of duty can only be compassed by unquenchable resolution; the searching sorrows of life can only be triumphantly borne and thoroughly sanctified where faith and love are in full possession; the crowding foes and difficulties of the good can only be vanquished by the heart of heroes. Excess of will is bad and to be guarded against; defect of enthusiasm is not less to be deprecated."

Mr. Curnock has found a congenial theme in "God and Nature." The book is written in his best style, and is not only full of word-painting which reveals the ardent student of Nature, but of suggestive thought, which shows the Christian naturalist. It is crowded with quotations from the Psalms—that old hymn-book which chants the praise of Jehovah as the God of Nature, as well as the God of Providence and of Grace. Mr. Curnock groups his subject under five suggestive headings: God and Nature, Nature for Man, Nature against Man, the Sanctification of Nature, the Beatification of Nature. The progress of scientific study gives special appropriateness to the early recognition of Nature in the Series. Mr. Curnock's book will not fail to open all eyes to the "two worlds" of which Keble sings.

Three other volumes of the Series are in preparation. The Rev. A. E. Gregory will write on "Christian Childhood," Rev. W. T. Davison on the "Devotional Study of Scripture," the Rev. J. R. Gregory on the "Second Advent." All Christian people will find help and instruction in the Series. Preachers, class-leaders, and Sunday-school teachers have been specially kept in view in its preparation. If those who need gift-books for members of their classes would remember these neat little volumes, which are published at a shilling, they would soon make the Series an assured success.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Revised Version. By
S. D. WADDY, Q.C., M.P. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

Mr. Waddy has done good service to Biblical students by this timely publication. The work needed to be done. Whatever the ultimate fate of the Revised Version of the Bible, it is at present at least one of the best helps in existence for the study of the authorised version, and no English student can disregard its renderings, while a large number of readers depend entirely upon it as an accurate presentation of the meaning of the Greek in the light of the most recent scholarship. It was inevitable, therefore, that a "Harmony of the Gospels" would be required in the words of the Revised Version, and Mr. Waddy has produced an admirably arranged edition, in a neat, well-printed, and portable form.

It is hardly necessary to say we do not agree with all the details of Mr. Waddy's arrangement. More than two hundred "Harmonies" have appeared, dating from the time of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and probably no two of them agree exactly. But the author of this latest Harmony wisely refrains from attempting any very sweeping alterations in the arrangement proposed by such authorities as Greswell and Robinson. He exercises throughout an independent judgment, while he has evidently studied previous writers with care and discrimination. On such points as the date of the Mission of the Seventy, and the place given to the chapters in St. Luke's Gospel ix.-xi., and xi.-xiii., Mr. Waddy does not slavishly follow any of his predecessors, but his arrangement as a whole is not widely different from the admirable one of Robinson, pub-

lished by the Tract Society. He places the second Anointing of Jesus on the Sabbath evening preceding the Crucifixion, following, as we think rightly, the chronology of St. John, and explaining the language of St. Matthew and St. Mark so as to make their account harmonize with this.

It has not been part of Mr. Waddy's plan, he tells us, to discuss difficult questions in detail. Yet he gives a few introductory notes on points of importance—*e.g.*, the genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the duration of our Lord's ministry, and the Sermon on the Mount. These notes are clear, succinct, not overloaded with detail, and therefore well suited for popular use. That on the Sermon on the Mount appears to us particularly good. We cannot understand, however, how Mr. Waddy can believe that the woman who was a sinner (Luke viii. 37) was Mary of Bethany. He here appears to follow M'Clellan, to whose judgment, as we think, Mr. Waddy has given too much weight. M'Clellan's judgment was by no means equal to his learning, and much of his laborious work on the Gospels is comparatively useless. But authorities have differed and will continue to differ on the points to which Mr. Waddy devotes special notes, and all readers of his book may be sure of finding on such points as he does discuss a carefully weighed opinion clearly expressed. Very useful tables are prefixed, one enabling the reader to find any passage in the Harmony, another giving a comparative synopsis of the view of several modern harmonists. The marginal notes of the Revisers are carefully reproduced.

There can be no doubt that this little book represents a piece of work which was much needed, now executed carefully and well, and we have no doubt it will command a large sale. The more the Gospel history is studied in one narrative woven from those of the four Gospels, and in the English translation, which presents the conclusions of the latest scholarship, the better. Mr. Waddy, by the publication of this useful book, has made it easier for ministers, teachers, and Christians generally to follow "the blessed steps of that Most Holy Life."

Sermons. Second Series. By Rev. JOHN KER, D.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1887.

The late Dr. Ker's life is another proof that extent of influence does not always depend on extent of public work. An invalid most of his life, Dr. Ker was able to do little in the way either of preaching or writing. His only publication of importance, before the present one, was a volume of twenty-four sermons issued about twenty years ago. That volume was recognized by all critics worthy of the name as a work of some genius, and through thirteen editions it has gone on teaching the teachers of the churches. And now another series of twenty-four sermons is added, which, if it does not quite reach the supreme height of its predecessors, is marked by the same qualities of mind and heart—subtle thought, chastened imagination, intense feeling, the profoundest and truest insight into human nature and divine truth. In our

judgment Dr. Ker's sermons are quite equal to Dr. Newman's, in quality, if not in number, and are immeasurably more Scriptural and healthy. The range of topics alone in the present volume is remarkable. Nearly every sermon takes us into a new line of reflection. There is a fine sermon for young men, on Instability. Barzillai is made an example to the aged. Hadad the Edomite furnishes a lesson on Love of Country. The sermon entitled "Two Marvels" treats of Christ's wonder at faith and unbelief. "Spiritual Judgment: its Range, Independence, and Guidance," "The Christian Uses of Leisure," "Trouble at the Thought of God," are exquisite studies. "The Structure of the Bible" is an admirable example of apologetic preaching. The three Communion Addresses are most tender and impressive. We cannot but think that "Prayer for a Complete Life, and its Idea," and "The Complaint for Frustrated Aims" are reflections of the preacher's own experience; and very thoughtful and suggestive they are. The sermon on "The Heavenly Home" formed the substance of an address delivered about two months before his death in a friend's house in the Highlands. "It was the last time he was to speak on a theme which, more than most, drew out the powers of his heart and imagination." But better far than all the genius of thought and style is "the savour of Christ which pervades the sermons." "He, being dead, yet speaketh" to the Church universal.

Essays and Addresses: an Attempt to treat Some Religious Questions in a Scientific Spirit. By the Rev. J. M. WILSON, Head-master of Clifton College. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

Most of these papers have been published before, but they were well worth reprinting in a permanent form. Mr. Wilson has devoted himself to the defence of Christianity in a way of his own—one which few are fitted to undertake at all, and few indeed as well as he. His "Letter to a Bristol Artisan," published privately, is a very good specimen of candid dealing with the candid doubter, and the influence of such manly, fearless religious belief as Mr. Wilson expresses cannot be without its influence upon all candid minds. It is inevitable that in defence of this kind the apologist should be thought by many to give up more than he is warranted in conceding to objectors. Mr. Wilson in his essay on "The Theory of Inspiration, or why Men do not believe the Bible," appears to us often to be treading on very dangerous ground. But there can be no doubt whatever that frank, thorough treatment of such questions as Mr. Wilson here handles is needed to-day, if the artisan who has (not so much rejected, as) not accepted Christianity is to be won for the true faith of the Gospel. Some of these papers are very slight, and derive their value from the method pursued in them and their association with others of greater pretensions. The lecture on "Water" is a specimen of treating scientific questions in a religious spirit, while the rest fairly come under the

description given in the second title of the book, and treat religious questions in a spirit which will commend itself to scientific men. The second essay bespeaks the practised head-master, and contains some admirable counsels on the difficult question of immorality in schools. The whole volume is thoughtful, healthy, and suggestive.

Solomon: his Life and Times. By Archdeacon FARRAR.
London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1887.

This will prove an attractive volume in the "Men of the Bible Series." For a subject so full of historical interest, and including episodes of Eastern luxury and splendour, Canon Farrar was a writer of special suitability. He has, however, rather curbed than indulged his naturally profuse descriptive eloquence. The limits of the volume, in comparison of the variety and fulness of the literature belonging to its subject, are rather contracted. The book is no worse for the sobriety and general compression of style, and the condensation of matter, which on the whole characterize its contents. It is full of interest and instruction. In the remarks towards the end on the "wisdom literature" of the Bible we find, however, some traces of confusion and inaccuracy (pp. 204-5).

PHILOSOPHY.

A Treatise on the Principle of Sufficient Reason. A Psychological Theory of Reasoning, showing the Relativity of Thought to the Thinker, of Recognition to Cognition, the Identity of Presentation and Representation, of Perception and Apperception. By Mrs. P. F. FITZGERALD.
London: Thomas Laurie. 1887.

A volume of above 400 pages without plan or division! The "Summary of Contents," indeed, is divided into three parts; but, as far as we can judge, the division is purely nominal, representing no difference or transition of subject. There are topical headings at certain intervals, but we quite fail to trace any connection between them. We will give a few in the order in which they occur: The Laws of Causality—Thought, Spontaneous and Reflective—Sensation the pre-requisite Basis of Thought—Anthropomorphism, Man-formism, Anthropopsychism—The Idea of Causality—Reflective Introspection. The whole volume, in fact, is a collection of unsystematised jottings, *rudis indigestaque moles*. The title announces a pretty definite subject, and

we are told that "the aim of this work is a systematic psychology," but we hear no more of it. The only exception to the general aimlessness is the recurring reference to love, marriage, and elective affinities—"love changeless, love rejoicing, love victorious! Oh love, surpassing thought!" Another extraordinary feature is the number of quotations, French and Italian as well as English, often relevant, often not. Sometimes we have pages full of bits of quotations. The work represents wide reading and great labour; we wish it were more lucid, definite, and orderly.

Principles of Civil Government. By J. BOYD KINNEAR. London: Smith & Elder. 1887.

Mr. Boyd Kinnear is already favourably known by his works on *Principles of Reform* and *Principles of Property in Land*. The present volume is an attempt to set forth the principles on which government is founded, the results at which it aims, and the methods by which it is carried out. As the author says in his Preface, "the science of government is necessarily progressive," and, unless legislators and those whose duty it is to choose legislators understand something of the fundamental principles of government, it cannot be wondered at if much of our legislation is carried on at random, and we live—as there are not wanting signs of a decided tendency amongst us to live—merely "from hand to mouth" as regards the life of the body politic. Mr. Boyd Kinnear's work touches only the skirts of great current questions. He cannot, however, avoid touching them sometimes, but he does so, as far as we have noted, wisely and warily, as in his remarks on nationality, federation, and the bearing of these abstract questions on the relations between England and Ireland. He has some excellent remarks on party government, and the signs of its decay amongst us. Mr. Kinnear holds that we are rapidly coming by a path of our own to the steady application of the maxim "Not men, but measures," and he by no means regrets the gradual effacement of hard-and-fast lines of party distinctions.

These are complicated questions, and cannot be discussed at length in a small book of 200 pages. Mr. Boyd Kinnear does not profess to discuss them in detail, but he lays down clearly, briefly, and very fairly, certain general principles which should guide all governments, and certain ends at which all governments should aim. The modest but important object which the author sets before him he has, so far as we can judge, been very successful in attaining.

A Dictionary of Philosophy in the Words of Philosophers.

Edited, with an Introduction, by J. RADFORD THOMSON,
M.A. London: R. D. Dickinson. 1887.

The idea of this volume is happy, although no one man could work it out thoroughly, because no one man could possess all the reading in various

languages, and the power of translating metaphysics from other languages into English, which is needful to accomplish all that is involved in the idea. However, the publisher found an efficient helper in Professor Thomson, of New College; and although there are, of necessity, many deficiencies and some great gaps in the *Dictionary*, it is a very useful and instructive book for inquirers and students with a small library. Its value is much enhanced by the clear and comprehensive "Introduction," contributed by the editor, and by the index.

Labour, Leisure, and Luxury. A Contribution to Present Practical Political Economy. By ALEXANDER WYLIE, of Glasgow. New Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

Mr. Wylie's work met with such a favourable reception when it was published in 1884, that this cheap edition has been issued for the benefit of the working classes. The author is partner in some large printing and dyeing works at Renton, near Dumbarton, so that he is thoroughly at home with his subject. He deals with it in five chapters, entitled Labour, Leisure, Luxury, Progress, Acquisition of Property by the Working Classes. He holds that the first object to which our labour-saving power should be applied "is to abolish over-exertion in our industries, and to make all labour sweet and wholesome." Then true leisure should be enjoyed—leisure learned and refined such as has hitherto fallen to the lot of but few. The standard of living ought, he maintains, to be raised, and in order to do this the working-man must acquire a larger share of property by saving what is now used for vicious luxuries. Mr. Wylie has a good subject, which he handles suggestively. We hope many working-men will read his instructive pages.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL.

Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XI. (Clater to Condell). Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. London: Smith & Elder.

THIS eleventh volume contains an important life of Sir Edward Coke, Bacon's rival, by Mr. G. P. Macdonald; Bishop Colenso, by the Right Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, Bart.; and Professor Clifford and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, by the editor. Of Coleridge, Mr. Leslie Stephen writes at considerable length [No. CXXXVII.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. IX. NO. I. N

and with even more than his usual acumen. The rheumatism and neuralgia which drove Coleridge to narcotics are unhesitatingly attributed to the bad food at Christ's Hospital, and to the folly which led the boy to bathe in the New River with his clothes on, and neglect to change them afterwards. Of Mary Evans, a schoolfellow's sister, Mr. Stephen says enough to make us wish he had said more, instead of referring us to Gillman and Allsop. Of Coleridge the poet, he thinks more highly than of Coleridge the metaphysician. "His boasted distinction between the reason and the understanding, borrowed from Kant, though completely altered in the process, has not satisfied even his disciples, though it is doubtless an attempt to formulate an important principle." The metaphysical essay in the *Biographia Literaria*, the most elaborate of his works, is, to a great extent, a translation from Schelling (see Professor Ferrier in *Blackwood* for March, 1840). "More than one critic has shown the superficial nature of Coleridge's acquaintance with Kant, and the weakness of his claims to independent discovery of principles. In truth, his admirers must limit themselves to claiming, what he undoubtedly deserves, the honour of having done much to stimulate thought, and must abandon any claim to the construction of a definite system." Coleridge, the tenth child of a second wife, is a rare instance of one who owed more to father than to mother. The latter is described as "a sensible woman, and a good housekeeper, though not highly educated." The father, often compared by his son to Parson Adams, used to quote Hebrew in the pulpit, and published (besides *Dissertations on the Book of Judges*) a *Critical Latin Grammar*, in which he called the ablative the "quale-quare-quidditive." Of Samuel's brothers (the children by the first wife were all daughters), the third, James, went into the army, married a lady of fortune (Miss Duke Taylor), and became the father of James, Archdeacon of Cornwall, of Justice Coleridge, of Henry Nelson his uncle Samuel's literary executor, of Edward the Eton master, and of Bishop Patteson's mother. The fifth child, Edward, was a clergyman wholly undistinguished; the sixth, George, also took Orders, and succeeded to his father's school and living. Under him his brilliant nephew, afterwards the justice, was educated until he went to Eton. The seventh child, Luke Herman, became a surgeon; and his only son was William Hart, Bishop of Barbados. Altogether, the eccentric Devonshire schoolmaster set his mark on the world in a very effectual manner. Of S. T. Coleridge's children, Sara, married her cousin Henry Nelson, and their son Herbert, noted as a philologist, died of consumption at thirty years of age. Hartley, who, at Oxford was "a young man of great simplicity and oddity of manner, but in conversation, or rather declamation, second to his father alone," failed for the Newdegate, yielded to the seductions of wine-parties, and, after gaining a fellowship at Oriel, was deprived within a year on account of intemperance. After several attempts at schoolmastering (failures from his inability to control boys) he settled at Grasmere, being hospitably housed (whenever he was not wandering about the Lake country) by Mrs. Fleming. With his diminutive stature, his prematurely white hair, his singularly gentle manner, and his

habits of perfect intimacy with the peasantry, he became one of the characteristic figures of the Lake district, "Poet Hartley" being really much better known to the people than Wordsworth. Dr. Garnett's estimate of his poetry is that it is "not powerful enough for vivid remembrance, and much too good for oblivion." His essay on "Black Cats," &c., reminds us of Charles Lamb, as his "Prometheus" does of Shelley. His brother Derwent was at Cambridge the friend of Praed, Macaulay, Moultrie, Bulwer, &c. He began life as Master of Helston Grammar School, where Charles Kingsley was one of his pupils. To him, as his father's disciple, Maurice dedicated his *Kingdom of Christ*. His own work, *The Scriptural Character of the English Church* is a good deal like Mr. Gladstone's *Church Principles Considered in their Results*, which appeared a year later; "it missed popularity, perhaps because it is so impartial." As the Principal of St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, he did much to shape the course of English elementary education. Latin, as a mental discipline, and choral services were what he mainly relied on. His High Churchism was by no means narrow, and he was (Dean Stanley said) "the most accomplished linguist in England." He could read Alfieri and Cervantes as easily as Racine and Schiller, and was at home with Hungarian and Welsh poetry. Of the latter he was intensely fond. He could also read Arabic and Coptic, and Zulu and Hawaiian. His share in editing his father's works, in conjunction with his sister, is well known. We have thought it best to say more of the Coleridge family than of the poet himself, because so much more is known about him by people in general. The contrast, for instance, between Derwent, steady and successful, and Hartley, "who never played at school but passed his spare time in reading, walking, dreaming, or talking of his dreams to others; and who, intensely sensitive, impatient of control, shy and awkward to excess, infirm of purpose and insignificant in personal appearance, was wholly unfit to battle with the world," is very instructive. A few more words must, however, be added about Lamb's "inspired charity boy." Boyer, Coleridge's master at Christ's Hospital, a pitiless flogger, flogged his pupil out of infidelity ("the only just flogging he ever received"—Gillman) into which he had been seduced by reading Voltaire. Ready to argue with any chance passenger; seized as a pickpocket because his hands touched a gentleman's pocket while he was "Leander swimming the Hellespont"; making a start in medicine, and also in shoemaking, and then nearly winning the Craven Scholarship at Cambridge; leaving Cambridge on account of debt, and enlisting in the 15th Dragoons; Coleridge made several starts before he settled down into literature. The "Pantisocracy," which was to settle on the Susquehanna—a sort of earlier Blythedale—was probably never more than a dream. To some it will be news that Coleridge, so exuberant a talker, was a very poor speaker. As Unitarian preacher "he put to flight a very thin congregation"; the Royal Institution Lectures of 1808 were a failure. That he is not more popular, is because, as Mr. Stephen observes, like Spenser, he is "a poet's poet," supplying "the imaginative essence, which they alloyed with elements more prosaic but more immediately

acceptable." Of his conversation, "Carlyle and Hazlitt failed to perceive, what was evident to most, that his apparent rambling was governed by severe logical purpose." We have written at length, because not only are these lives of the Coleridge family specially interesting, but because Mr. Stephen's life of the poet philosopher is one of the most elaborate that he has yet undertaken; it makes us independent of any lengthier memoir. The life of Coke is, of course, deeply interesting, as of one "who has really exercised a profound influence on English law." His having done so is wonderful; for "in some cases he gives a wrong account of the actual decision; and still more often the authorities that he cites do not bear out his propositions of law. *This fault has had very serious consequences on English law. . . .* And though judges are now more ready than they were to scrutinize his law, many of his doctrines are so firmly established that no judge can now disregard them." We have said enough to show that this 11th volume is an exceptionally interesting one.

Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

This biographical and critical sketch of the gifted young English poet is admirable both in taste and temper. No one can read the volume without feeling profound sympathy for the sharp sorrows of Keats' life and gaining a clearer view of his rare powers as a poet. Mr. Colvin's critical estimate of his genius and his poetry, in its stages of development and in its varieties, is as able as it is painstaking. Every word is measured, every sentence fresh and forcible. Much has been written on Keats. The late Lord Houghton's *Life and Letters* of Keats holds its place as the great authority. The present volume duly acknowledges its obligation to that work, whilst it supplies some valuable corrections and additions. Five of Mr. Colvin's chapters are biographical; three are devoted to a careful description of the poems; a few final pages bring out clearly the character and genius of the poet. Keats was born at the "Swan and Hoop" Livery Stables, Finsbury Pavement. His father, Thomas Keats, had come to London from the West country as a lad. Before he was twenty he was head ostler to Mr. John Jennings, whose daughter he married. He was killed by a fall from his horse when his eldest son was only eight years old; the mother died six years later, leaving four children to the care of their grandmother, Mrs. Jennings. Mr. Jennings left a fortune of £13,000, so that his grandchildren were provided for, but they sorely missed their mother's loving care. One seldom reads of a family so warmly attached to each other. The brothers took intense pride in the poet. At school Keats was more noted for pugnacity than for any intellectual bent, though he was always orderly and methodical. During his last terms, however, all the energies of his nature turned to study. He became suddenly and completely absorbed in reading, was continually at work before schooltime in the morning and during play hours in the afternoon, could hardly be induced to join the school games,

and never willingly had a book out of his hand. He easily won all the literature prizes of the school, and voluntarily undertook to translate the whole *Æneid* into prose. Cowden Clarke, the son of his schoolmaster, was his first literary friend; he lent him books and did much to develop his powers. After leaving school Keats was apprenticed to a surgeon; then he walked the London hospitals. Here he acquired considerable dexterity, but his heart was not in his work. Poetic fancies crowded into his brain, and made him tremble to think of the possible results of his absent-mindedness in critical operations. At last he gave himself wholly to poetry. Leigh Hunt and Haydon the painter were his great friends in these early days, but, though he never lost his kindly feeling toward them, he gradually learned to follow his own ideals. His industry and love of work preserved him from the vices into which many of his contemporaries fell. There is no blot on his moral character. The fatigue and exposure of a walking tour in Scotland developed the seeds of the family consumption to which his youngest brother had already fallen a victim. Financial anxieties told heavily upon him, though these at least he might have been spared, as a considerable sum of money left by his grandfather was lying idle. Of this, however, he knew nothing. His attachment to Miss Fanny Brawne was singularly unhappy in its effect on his mind. He seemed consumed by restless passion, which drew him from his art and seemed like a fire in his bones. The young lady returned his affection, but she was not the mate for one so finely strung and sensitive as Keats. "When I am among women," he wrote, "I have evil thoughts, malice, spleen; I cannot speak, or be silent; I am full of suspicions, and therefore listen to nothing; I am in a hurry to be gone." Keats suffered much in reputation from the venomous and brutal attacks made on him in *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly*. It must not, however, be supposed that these rancorous onslaughts killed the poet. They robbed him of a reading in many circles, but he bore them with admirable patience and roused himself to put forth all his powers. His latest volume, containing the immortal "Lamia," "Isabella," "The Eve of St. Agnes," "Hyperion," and the "Odes," turned the tide in his favour. Jeffrey, in the *Edinburgh Review*, spoke enthusiastically of his poems. But before this volume was published he suffered from fresh hæmorrhages. His life was fast ebbing. A winter in the South was the only hope. Severn, the painter, then a young man, was his companion to Italy. One of the most touching and beautiful parts of this memoir describes Severn's tender watchfulness over the young poet when he lay dying in Rome. The thoughts of separation from the lady whom he loved wrung his soul. "I have coals of fire in my breast," he wrote. "It surprises me that the human heart is capable of so much misery." Up to this time he had "respected Christianity without calling himself a Christian," "by turns clinging to and drifting from the doctrine of immortality." Severn was a Christian. The contrast between his friend's spirit and his own made Keats acknowledge the power of Christian teaching and example. He bade his companion read him Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*. As the weary

days wore on he gained strength to drink his bitter cup. "Be firm, and thank God it has come," were his last words to his friend. That death scene was a beautiful close to the brief but intellectually brilliant career of the young poet. Shelley had warmly urged him to come to him at Pisa, but it was wisely ordered otherwise. Thus he met the last struggle supported by Christian truth and friendship. His own epitaph—"Here lies one whose name was writ in water"—opens up the unutterable pathos of his life. But though his brief career was clouded by trouble and ill-health, Keats's name stands high in the roll of English poets. Mr. Colvin shows how he revealed the hidden delights of Nature, divined the true spirit of antiquity, and conjured with the spell of the Middle Age; had life and strength been granted, there is good ground to believe that he would have shown equal genius in unlocking the mysteries of the heart and in dealing with the eternal problems of human life.

The Reign of Queen Victoria: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Edited by T. H. WARD, M.A. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

It was a happy thought in Mr. Ward to associate with himself a number of experts and authorities in his survey of the reign of the Queen. The outcome of their labours lies before us in the shape of two large volumes of essays and dissertations, some of them of surpassing excellence, and all of them of permanent interest and value. The book does not profess to be a philosophy of the history of the reign. Nowhere does it attempt to estimate the forces that have been at work throughout the Empire, or in any of its parts, during these fifty memorable years; nor does it anywhere sum up for us the results of their interplay and operation. This was evidently felt by both editor and contributors to be the more appropriate work of a later time, and of a more convenient point of view. What they have done, and done most admirably, is to produce a sort of *Encyclopædia Victoriana* which stands out *facile princeps* among the literature of the Jubilee year, and which will be a mine of materials for the future historian and philosopher. Some of these materials will be found embodied in an article in our present number; but those who can afford it would do well to buy the mine. After an introduction in which the editor strikes the key-note of triumph and of hope that, with an occasional undertone of warning, runs throughout, we have in the first volume three chapters from his versatile and skilful pen on "Foreign Policy," "The Legislation of the Reign," and "Colonial Policy and Progress;" and in the second volume a delightful chapter on the, to him, familiar and congenial theme of "Art." Among the more eminent of his *collaborateurs* are Sir Henry S. Maine, who contributes a weighty and suggestive chapter on "India;" Professor Huxley, who gives us an elaborate and brilliant discourse on "Science;" and Mr. Matthew Arnold, who dilates with ease and elegance on "Schools." A bare enumeration of

the other topics treated will convey some idea at once of the breadth and complexity of the national life, and of the comprehensiveness of the survey here made of it; and the mere mention of the names attached to the different chapters will be a sufficient guarantee of the general excellence of the work. Besides the chapters already mentioned, the first volume contains dissertations by Sir W. R. Anson on "Constitutional Development;" on "The Army," by General Wolseley; "The Navy," by Lord Brassey; "The Administration of the Law," by Lord Justice Bowen; "Finance," by Mr. Courtney; "Religion and the Churches," by Dr. Hatch; and "Ireland," by Sir Rowland Blennerhasset. The second volume opens with a very valuable article by Mr. Giffen on "The Growth and Distribution of Wealth," which is followed by chapters on "Industrial Association," by Messrs. Mundella and Howell," and on "Locomotion and Transport," by the editor. The titles of the rest of the chapters are—"Agriculture," by Sir James Caird; "The Cotton Trade and Industry," by Mr. John Slagg; "Iron," by Sir Lowthian Bell; "The Universities," by Professor Fyffe; "Medicine and Surgery," by Dr. Robert Brudenell Carter; "Literature," by Dr. Garnett, with a note on "The Newspaper Press;" "The Drama," by Mr. William Archer; and "Music," by Mr. Walter Parratt. Illustrative maps and diagrams accompany some of the articles, among which is a curiosity in the shape of a fac-simile of a page of the first "Bradshaw." An index would make of this most readable and useful book an invaluable "work of reference." In a second and cheaper edition it is to be hoped this want will be supplied.

The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time. By the Rev. H. C. ADAMS, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1887.

Mr. Adams has gathered together an enormous mass of interesting information in this valuable history. It is a cyclopædia of Jewish life from the time of our Lord. The early part of his book deals with the first thirteen centuries of our era; the second brings the record down to the present day. The subject is treated in forty-four brief chapters, which follow the Israelitish wanderers to every country of Europe, and also describe their life and sufferings in Asia, Africa, and America. We may give some idea of the contents of the volume by quoting the headings of a few chapters. The Jews under Charlemagne; The Jews in England—Jewish Impostors; Great Jewish Doctors—Aben Ezra, Maimonides, Benjamain of Tudela—these are some of the subjects treated here. But for the most part the order is chronological and territorial. The terrible sufferings of the Jews and their struggles for emancipation are graphically told. When Mr. Pelham, who was then Premier, brought forward his Act for the Naturalization of the Jews in the Parliament of 1753, the mob treated all his supporters with outrage. The cry "No Jews—no wooden shoes!" rang through the streets. Dr. Gooch, the

Bishop of Norwich, who was an advocate for the measure, was insulted wherever he went. "At Ipswich the boys whom he was about to confirm shouted out to him that they wished to be circumcised; and on the door of one of the churches a paper was found, announcing that the bishop would confirm the Jews on the Saturday, and the Christians on the Sunday next ensuing." During the No-Popery riots of 1780 Houndsditch trembled. The Jews, fearing an onslaught from the mob, wrote on their doors: "This is the house of a true Protestant." The father of Grimaldi, the clown, went further. He put up "No religion" on his doors. The course of the modern struggle for complete civil liberty is related here with many graphic particulars. Still more interesting are the pages devoted to the terrible sufferings of the Jews in the Middle Ages. In England the absurd charge was made against the Jews of having kidnapped and crucified a boy at Norwich so early as the reign of King Stephen. They were condemned to pay a fine to the Crown. Henry II. repressed all attempts at violence towards them with a strong hand. But their unpopularity steadily grew. At the coronation of Richard I. the crisis came. The Jews brought rich presents to Westminster, but were ordered to remain outside the Abbey, their presence being deemed a profanation of the ceremony. Unhappily a few of them ventured inside, thinking that they would be unnoticed. They were detected and dragged forcibly out. The houses of the Jews were plundered and burnt. These outrages were repeated in the large provincial towns. At York more than five hundred Jews had taken refuge in the Castle. When they could defend themselves no longer most of them agreed to kill each other rather than fall into the hands of the barbarous townsmen. It is a ghastly story, which may be paralleled in almost every country during the Middle Ages. Mr. Adams has written a standard work, which abounds with interesting glimpses of Jewish life and character in many ages.

The Church and the Roman Empire. By the Rev. ARTHUR CARR, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

We have in this handy volume one of the series edited by the Rev. Mandell Creighton, on the *Epochs of Church History*, former volumes of which we have introduced in succession to our readers. The present appears to us to be equal to any of the series. The subject is one of very great importance, as well as of peculiar interest. Clearness, freshness, succinctness, and, as far as the compass of space would allow, thoroughness are characteristics of Mr. Carr's work. The book is written from an English Churchman's point of view, and here and there more critical severity in dealing with subjects which seem to be more or less apocryphal, may by some readers be thought desirable. But the wondrous history of the Church and the Empire, in their mutual relations and interaction, is on the whole admirably told. The history ends with the Pontificate of Leo of Rome.

Athos; or, the Mountain of the Monks. By ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.A., F.R.G.S. With numerous Illustrations. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

Lovers of Curzon's delightful narrative of travel among the monasteries of the Levant will give a warm welcome to this volume. Though not equal to the earlier book of travel in point of literary finish and style, it is not a whit less graphic or interesting. It also has an enormous advantage over Curzon in its thirty illustrations, eight of which are full-page plates, the rest woodcuts of smaller size. No volume on Athos, indeed, can be considered complete without such pictures. The whole scenery and situation is so novel to English readers that it is scarcely possible fully to enjoy the narrative without these aids to imagination. Mr. Riley and his friend took their photographic apparatus with them. The results are eminently satisfactory. Great was the sensation in the high street of Caryes when it was known that the English strangers were about to take the portraits of the townsmen. Everybody within eyesight or hailing distance rushed to the scene of action. Angelos, the interpreter, harangued the company, urging them to give the camera fairplay. Mr. Riley himself marched down the bazaar, arranging the eager crowd, whilst Mr. Owen manipulated the lens. The result is seen in two rows of excited men, who evidently enjoy the novel sensation of having their likenesses taken. Mr. Riley left London for his tour in Athos on July 20, 1883. A pleasant chapter describes his journey to Constantinople *via* Vienna, Bucharest, Rustchuk, and Varna. At the last town he enjoyed the felicity of witnessing a wedding in the Church of St. Athanasius. It was a terribly hot day. One lady fanned the bride, whilst at intervals an old man came up behind the happy pair, and removing first the bridegroom's wreath of orange-blossoms and then the bride's, mopped their streaming faces with a handkerchief. Then he replaced the orange-blossoms, and retired till his kindly offices were again required. Constantinople also furnishes a chatty chapter, with an excellent description of the interior of St. Sophia. Having presented their letters of introduction to the patriarch of the city, the two travellers were furnished by him with a letter to the Synod of Mount Athos. The interest taken in the affairs of the Anglican Church by the Patriarch and his officers adds some pleasant touches to this chapter. At Cavalla, where they were detained for some time, they met the Lord Archbishop of the place, who was going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain for the first time. He had received a letter from the Œcumenical Patriarch urging them to show every civility to the strangers. "We will go together," said the prelate. This fortunate friendship added much to the pleasure and success of the visit. The Archbishop was attended by two servants. One preceded him, bearing a long silver-headed staff; the other was an aspirant for the office of deacon, which his master had promised that he would *perhaps* bestow on him if he was very good and served him faithfully. The dignitary himself was about thirty-five, stout and short—only five feet three inches. His lofty hat and the

imposing dignity of his manners before strangers made him, however, look much taller. His purple cassock was covered by a grey cloth cloak, lined with white fur. "Genial, kind, and full of good nature toward his equals, whilst haughty and unbending towards his inferiors, indolent beyond belief, absolute idleness being his chief delight, in character he is a pattern Orientalist." How zealously he obeyed the instructions of his Patriarch as to the travellers may be gathered from an incident which occurred at Xeropotamon. When they retired to rest he superintended the hanging up of the curtains round their beds with truly paternal care. Next morning Mr. Riley was awakened by a terrific uproar in the corridor. The voice of the Archbishop rang above the rest. Getting out of bed Mr. Riley opened his door to discover the cause of the uproar. On the other side of the corridor was his friend Mr. Owen, who had also been roused by the babel of voices. One of the company now advanced with jugs and towels for their morning bath. The towels were filthy, but when the Archbishop remonstrated he was told that these were all they had in the monastery. This was apparently the bone of contention which they had been picking together when they awoke the Englishmen. At last two new pieces of coarse and thick linen were produced, which were so stiff as to be utterly useless. The strangers had to content themselves with their pocket-handkerchiefs and the fringes of the dirty towels. Still more uncomfortable were the meals. Butter well nigh putrid and rancid oil spoiled every feast that was prepared for them. At Stavroniketa the smell of the soup was so bad that Mr. Riley several times thought he should have to beat a hasty retreat. The delicious mess was composed of three parts hot water, with one part hot rancid oil, to which lobster and octopus were added. Even the Archbishop, inured as he was to such compounds, only ventured to take half of it. The Englishmen durst not touch it. A cock which they were rejoicing over next morning was dressed with putrid butter, so that when Mr. Owen took a mouthful he gasped out, "I'm nearly poisoned. What can they have done to it?" These are fair samples of the cookery on Mount Athos, but the beautiful trees—sweet chestnuts, oaks, and beeches—with thick shrubberies of box and laurel, which line the roads; the vines, honeysuckle, and creepers of every kind which twine around the trees, or hang in festoons over the paths; the beautiful sea-views from some of the monasteries; the novelty of life where a woman is never seen, nor a baby ever heard, make Mount Athos a wonderland for all English readers. Full particulars of the monasteries and the monks will be found in this enchanting narrative. We have not read for many a month a narrative of travel so fresh, so racy, and so instructive.

An Unknown Country. By the Author of "John Halifax."

Illustrated by F. Noel Paton. Macmillan & Co. 1887.

The gifted authoress is a native of Ireland, but seems to have known little of the land of her birth. Fifteen years ago, however, on an occasion which it might not be difficult to guess, she had visited Ulster, seen some of its chief towns and great sights, and made acquaintance with the mountains of Donegal

—dreary and savage always, sometimes grand. This region she has now revisited, in company with a bright party, and here is the record. It need not be said that the description of the month's tour is excellently done. Nothing can be more engaging or vivid. So far as a month's touring experience in one section of Ireland may go, the book is instructive, and reveals as much as such experience, with free intermixture among the people and various hospitality, could teach. But her visit was too limited, both in space and time, and what she saw and heard was too limited in its meaning, as seen by the tourist, too superficial in its presentation, too merely of the present, too little related either to history or to policy and statesmanship, to throw any valuable light on the great Irish problem. The people among whom she went seem not to have been by any means among either the most wretched—though often wretched enough—or the most embittered and vindictive of the peasantry of Ireland. She describes them, however, as “a race turbulent and impulsive by nature, as untrained as wild horses, and yet a race equally noble and equally capable of being made valuable instead of dangerous to the community at large.” But if this is the “race,” who and what are the “community at large” to whom the “race” is to be “made valuable”? We should add that this very interesting book is beautifully illustrated.

Pictures from Holland. Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. With a Map and One Hundred and Thirty-three Illustrations. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1887.

Mr. Lovett's *Norwegian Pictures*, which we had the pleasure to notice in this REVIEW, prepared us to give a hearty welcome to his *Pictures from Holland*. The new volume is not less fascinating than its predecessor. Our Dutch friends have no reason to complain that their picturesque towns are neglected by English tourists. The travelling artist and the magazine writer have made the country almost as familiar to us as our own. But it has not lost its charm. Mr. Lovett's book will be the more heartily welcomed because a large circle of readers have learned to admire the still life of Holland and to laugh at safe distance over the torture which a sensitive nose will find in the odoriferous canals of the great cities. We have seen no book on Holland which can compare with this for attractiveness of illustration and get-up. One hundred and thirty-three pictures of famous buildings, eminent men, old cities and houses, works of the great masters—that feature of this handsome volume should secure it a place in every drawing-room. The national sports and costumes, the ways of the people, and the everyday aspect of town and country are all caught and preserved in these charming sketches. The reading is not less interesting. Mr. Lovett treats his subject under thirteen chapters, entitled, Holland and the Hollanders; Amsterdam; To Marken via Edam and Volendam; To Alkmaar, Hoorn, and Enhuizen via Zaandam; Haarlem, the Home of Frans Hals; The Capital of Holland; The Great University Town of

Holland ; Delft, the Town of William the Silent ; Rotterdam, Dort, and Gouda ; Zeeland ; Utrecht and the Southern Provinces ; To the East of the Zuyder Zee ; A Glance at some Dutch Painters. This mere enumeration of subjects will show what a treat is in store for all who add this volume to their libraries. The place of Holland in the religious history of Europe is clearly brought out. William of Orange broke the power of Spain by his stubborn fight for liberty of conscience. If Holland had no other claim on gratitude, that death-grapple with the Inquisition would entitle it to rank high in the affection of every friend of religious liberty. Mr. Lovett enriches his pages with many references to that heroic struggle. But his book deals not less carefully with the every-day aspect of the country. Here is his description of Amsterdam :

"The houses which line the sides of these canal-streets are tall, often gabled and picturesque, and well calculated to catch the eye and attract the attention of the stranger. In such streets as the Heerengracht the buildings are often very fine, belonging to wealthy and successful men, like the present Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and not unfrequently being old family mansions, such as that belonging to the Six family. A well-organized system of tramcars connects all quarters of the city. The streets are generally paved with what seems to an English eye abnormally rough and large cobble stones, and the passing of a cab produces a deafening uproar. Along the bigger canals small steamboats ply, and along all, big or small, canal-boats, propelled by their occupants, who are expert in 'poling,' are incessantly passing, silently it is true, unless a collision occurs—and they often do—and then the Dutch canal-poler seems to possess quite as ample and expressive a vocabulary, and one that strikes more raucously upon the ear, than that of a London cabman. Streams of animated pedestrians pass along the streets ; well-dressed ladies, who have long since discarded all national peculiarities of costume as unfashionable ; men eagerly intent upon business ; trim, white-capped, bare-armed servant-maids ; here and there a typical peasant, say a Volendammer, with his broad baggy trousers, or a Friesland woman, with her glittering gold skull-cap ; and, quite frequently enough to suggest that death visits Amsterdam as often as other crowded towns, the elaborately dressed official who distributes summonses to a funeral. Everywhere there is life and movement. Everywhere are signs of comfort and prosperity. The shining windows, the dazzlingly clean brass door-plates, and the spotless steps all please the eye. To the lover of his kind, few places are more interesting than the streets of Amsterdam, with their thundering cabs, their convenient tramcars, their quaint old canal-boats, and their ever-varying, ever-interesting faces and costumes."

All who wish to know Holland better, should get this delightful volume without delay.

BELLES LETTRES.

Imaginary Portraits. By WALTER PATER. London : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THESE studies strike us as somewhat unequal in merit. The best unquestionably is the second, entitled "*Denys l'Auxerrois*," "a quaint legend," as

Mr. Pater aptly designates it, of which the scene is laid in Auxerre, in the thirteenth century. After some delightful pages about Auxerre and its neighbours, Sens and Troyes, Mr. Pater tells us how he found in a bric à brac shop in Auxerre a fragment of stained glass of peculiar and indeed unique design, and in the house of a priest in a neighbouring village some tapestries plainly dealing with the same theme. These furnished the material out of which the quaint legend was gradually evolved. The legend itself is of one Denys, a vine-dresser of "unrivalled fairness and freshness of aspect," in whom the god Dionysus seemed to have returned to earth, bringing fruitful seasons with him, and who became for a time the idol of the country side, but who, the fat years over and gone, fell into disfavour, and, as the scarcity increased and became grievous, came to be regarded as a magician, took refuge with the monks of St. Germain, and devised their organ for them; but, venturing out of the monastery on the occasion of a public festival, was hunted by the populace through the town like a wild beast, and eventually torn limb from limb. The story is wrought out with the subtlest, most delicate art, and will rank, we think, with the very best work which Mr. Pater has done. The other portraits seem to us somewhat too slight. We fail to get a very clear idea of Antony Watteau from the series of imaginary letters printed under the title, "A Prince of Court Painters." "Sebastian van Storck" is a rather painful though very able study of the numbing, paralysing influence which a real assimilation of Spinozism might possibly have upon a character not destitute of nobility. Count Rosenmold, the German æsthete of the Louis Quinze period, full of "boundless enthusiasm" for rococo architecture, yet not without dim presentiments of better things, is a character that not even Mr. Pater's consummate art can render interesting.

King James the First: an Historical Tragedy. By DAVID GRAHAM. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

Mr. Graham's historical play *Robert de Bruce* has already won hearty recognition for its "well-wrought scenes" and vigorous style. He has found another congenial theme in Scottish history, which he handles well. If truth compels us to say that his muse does not soar, it yet wings its way through the tragic scenes of old Court-life in Scotland with steady flight. Mr. Graham is never dull. The whole subject is lighted up, and at once fixes the reader's attention. The analysis of character and motive is good. The character of King James is not brought out with clearness. A reader who comes to Mr. Graham's tragedy without previous knowledge of the epoch will not gain a clear idea of the monarch's character. Some of the best passages in the poem are put into the mouth of the Abbot of the Dominicans of Perth:—

"Stone walls, if high as Heaven
And built as solid as the Grampians,
Could not shut out temptation; no, not they.

Desires and fancies tempt as much as forms
And the realities of daily life;
And it is only these we can shut out."

His description of true faith is both suggestive and beautiful:—

"That trust in God which springeth, like a flower,
Out of a heartfelt sorrow for our sins,
And meekly looks above at Christ and Heaven."

King James is made to utter some wise and deep thoughts on the purpose of life, which must bring our quotations to a close:—

"I am, my Lord, convinced that the most High
Did never yet design a human soul
To be sent off under a guard to Heaven,
Or packed, like our French velvets, in a case
(Fondly deemed weather-proof),
Largely addressed to the celestial land,
All to escape—wayside catastrophes!
No! no! That is not life:
We come not to this earth to find repose.
If life were easy, life were meaningless:
Strife is the life of life, the death of death.
Our duty is, as I interpret it,
To go forth bravely against every foe
That meets us in the natural course of life,
And stand or fall in the hot action.
In this do we find glory."

Lays and Lyrics. By ARTHUR A. D. BAYLDON. London:
Bell & Sons. 1887.

Mr. Bayldon apologizes for the defects of his verses by telling us they were written at a very early age. We must say the apology was needed. The reputation of the author cannot gain by the publication of the sad stuff which some of these pages contain. He evidently possesses sensibility, some little imagination, and a fairly copious vocabulary, which, however, he does not know how to use. He has not found his singing voice. He may possess one; we are by no means sure. Some of the verses give promise of better things; others make us fear that the soul of the writer is hopelessly bound by the commonplace. It is not in any sense to his credit that he should have chosen the painting of "Nana" as a subject for two effusions of verse. We have not space to point out the number of halting lines and incongruous metaphors we have noted, and these are not to be wondered at in the poems of childhood. But why publish verse immature in substance and crude in form?

Poems by Mrs. Hemans. Selected for the use of Schools.

London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons.

Sixteen poems, with concise notes and a brief biography of the poetess. Threepence is a modest price for these fifty pleasant pages.

ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

In the second June issue of *L'Art* (Paris: J. Rouam; London: Gilbert, Wood & Co.), M. Charles Yriarte concludes his admirable review of the art treasures at Chantilly lately given to the French nation by the Duc d'Aumale. The letter-press of the July issues is wholly devoted to the Salon. M. Paul Leroi's criticisms are full of interest, even for the English reader, particularly if he has had the good luck to pay more than the customary flying visit to the great Exhibition. The second issue is enriched by M. Leopold Flameng's magnificently executed etching of Willems's picture, "La Sortie." Another if possible finer etching, by M. Edmond Ramus, of Rubens's portrait of the Marquis Spinola, adorns the first August issue, in which M. A. Heulhard begins a study of Rabelais, and M. A. Bertrand concludes his elaborate and enthusiastic monograph on François Rude. This last is very nobly illustrated though, as the plates are copied from casts of works which have almost ceased to exist, we confess to an uneasy suspicion that they do not, in spite of the care which has evidently been bestowed on them, accurately represent the originals.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Europe en 1887. Par Sir C. WENTWORTH DILKE. Paris: Quantin.

Of the six papers which, since January last, Sir C. Dilke has contributed to the *Fortnightly*, three only—those on Germany, France, and Austria—simultaneously appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue*. That on Russia the French editor was afraid might annoy the St. Petersburg Government (as a matter of fact, the *Fortnightly* which contained it was not allowed to enter Russia; but this is the case with so many books). That on Italy was judged unpalatable to the French, because it urges on Italy the need of always keeping on good terms with Germany. That on England was suppressed because the author says that France broke a definite treaty in regard to the New Hebrides. However, that enterprising publisher, M. Quantin, whose reproductions of old books make him a French Elliot Stock, thinks that, since the essays contain facts and not reasons, they ought to cause no annoyance, while

their author's great experience in public life, and his intimate knowledge of the men who manage the politics of Europe, give weight to what he says. The latter reason ought to give his essays more weight in England than is usually assigned to magazine literature. When, in replying to the criticisms of the *Spectator* and the *St. James's Gazette* on his comparison between the Russian and Austrian armies, he supports his opinions by the evidence of "un Hongrois dont il me faut taire le nom," we feel that his authority is none the less weighty for being anonymous. It is this wide acquaintance among statesmen and men of mark which puts Sir C. Dilke's views on a special level. He writes, not academically, but as a man who knows the world of which he writes. He agrees with Mr. Dicey, in the *Nineteenth Century* for April last, in foreboding danger from Russia. Mr. Dicey thinks that history is repeating itself, and that, while Europe ("a number of highly civilized States distracted by conflicting interests, internal jealousies, &c.") stands for Greece, Russia is a more civilized Macedon steadily bent on her own aggrandizement. Sir C. Dilke points to the possibility of the Sultan becoming, like the Emir of Bokhara, a vassal of the Czar, either cowed by pressure from the Caucasus (which has become a source of strength instead of weakness to Russia), or bribed by the promise that Bosnia shall be restored to him. This would mean our exclusion from lesser Asia, the trade of which is now almost wholly in our hands, and the shutting up against us of the Black Sea, except for the export of corn. About India Sir C. Dilke is not quite such an alarmist as are many of our Indian officers; nevertheless, "on the authority of people who have no interest in the matter," he decides that a Russian invasion of Asia is not by any means so difficult as the Russians assert. A column starting from the Oxus would at Sarakhs meet one which had marched from the Caucasus; and the two could occupy Herat, and push on the railway almost as far as that place, before we could have moved up 40,000 men to Quetta. Meanwhile, a third column could take the more difficult road from the Siberian frontier to Balkh. Sarakhs, by the way, was ceded to the Shah under a secret treaty. "Unhappily Persia cannot be persuaded that we have either the will or the power to protect her against Russia." Afghanistan, on the other hand, he assumes will be on our side, despite the "muddling" which has made Persia so cold to us; Afghan love of independence (of which there would be no hope under Russia) is stronger than love of Russian gold. Our aim, in the event of a Russian advance, would be to hold our own on the north-west frontier, and to endeavour to attack Russia on the Pacific seaboard, in which attempt the friendship of China would be invaluable. Of the Sepoys Sir Charles has a poor opinion as soldiers: "they would be useful to check the troops which unhappily we have allowed the native princes to keep up," while the help of the Ghoorkas would enable us to use them for this and for police purposes without fear of another mutiny. He is emphatically in favour of two distinct armies—a long service one for India, a short service one for elsewhere; and he hopes that by-and-by we may be able to imitate Russia in her clever way of turning to account the military instincts of the

populations which she annexes. To sum up, he is sure that we are under a twofold mistake; we are foolish to worry about India, where things are safe *for the time*; we are equally foolish to think that we have the least power, alone to protect Turkey. Indeed this "protecting Turkey" he is disposed to class among worn-out fallacies. To properly review such a book needs far more space than we can devote to it. We recommend it in its French dress, because what is read in a foreign language is often thought over more than what comes to us in English. Sir Charles goes thoroughly into the New Hebrides question: "It is natural that the Presbyterian missionaries should wish to preserve their hold on what cost them so much. France had better give up these islands, and thereby assure her hold on New Caledonia." Austria he takes to be merely a geographical expression; and he accuses her and her statesman, Count Beust, of having "led France to ruin in 1870 by promising help which she never gave nor meant to give." This is serious, and has been contradicted by Baron De Worms in his translation of Count Beust's Memoirs. Nevertheless, Sir Charles maintains that he is right, and says that when the French archives are opened the facts will be seen to be as he says. The next German invasion of France will, he thinks, be by way of Namur; the Anglo-Belgian army (even if we helped) would be set at naught; but he is sure the French army has been so thoroughly reformed as to be pretty well on an equality with that of her great rival. Besides his views on international politics, Sir Charles has many shrewd hints on home matters. Thus, economy, he says, is most practicable under a Tory Government; for the Tories in opposition always cry out about "cheeseparing," while the Liberals, on principle, are unable to oppose reductions.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Present Day Tracts on the Non-Christian Religions of the World.*
2. *Cricket.* A Popular Handbook of the Game. Edited by G. A. HUTCHINSON.
3. *Football.* A Popular Handbook of the Game. Edited by G. A. HUTCHINSON.
4. *The Glory of the Sea.* By DARLEY DALE. With Illustrations by Charles Whymper; and a Table of the Principal British Shells.
5. *Life on the Congo.* By the Rev. W. H. BENTLEY, of the Baptist Mission. With an Introduction by the Rev. G. GRENFELL, Explorer of the Upper Congo. London: Religious Tract Society. 1887.

1. The latest volume of *Present Day Tracts* forms a valuable treatise on the *Non-Christian Religions of the World*. Each of the six tracts has been [No. CXXXVII.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. IX. NO. 1. 0

entrusted to a writer whose prolonged study of the special religion gives him a claim to be heard on his special subject. The name of Sir William Muir attached to the paper on "The Rise and Decline of Islam," and that of Dr. Legge to the essay on "Christianity and Confucianism Compared in their Teaching of the Whole Duty of Man," form a sufficient guarantee for the fairness and fulness of information which mark these tracts. Dr. Reynolds writes on "Buddhism: a Comparison and a Contrast between Buddhism and Christianity;" whilst Dr. Mitchell is responsible for half the volume. His three papers are on "The Zend-Avesta and the Religion of the Pârsis;" "The Hindu Religion: a Sketch and a Contrast;" and "Christianity and Ancient Paganism." Much has been written on comparative religion. Those who are drawn to this fascinating subject will here find the best results given in small compass. Busy men can thus grasp the question for themselves. Whilst admitting the truths that are so strangely mixed up with the errors of these non-Christian religions, the writers of these tracts are careful to ask how far such religions help to promote true manliness and morality. Very painful are some of the answers. Lane speaks of men in Egypt who married a new wife almost every month. The Mohammedan religion everywhere lends its sanction to gross indulgences. We are thankful for the clear statements of these tracts. They show that, whatever excellencies we find in these religions—and we at least can never forget the glorious truths which are so strangely mixed with their errors—we must not forget that Christ has taught us to apply the true touchstone: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

2. We have seen no manuals on Cricket and Football to compare with these. Mr. Hutchison has secured the help of the leading representatives of these games. Dr. W. G. Grace, the Rev. J. Pycroft, F. Gale, and others contribute to the delightful book on *Cricket*; Dr. Irvine and C. W. Alcock to that on *Football*. Both volumes are copiously illustrated. They are furnished with diagrams which put the practical details of the games in a vivid form. It is evident that no pains have been spared to bring the books up to date in every particular. They belong to a Series entitled, "Boy's Own Bookshelf," but no lover of these games, whether young or old, can fail to be interested in them. We have no doubt that they will become standard books of reference in many a school and home. Cricket lends itself more readily to such writing than football. The batsman is not lost in a crowd like the athlete of the ball. This is evident in the two books before us. A chapter on Dr. W. G. Grace—the best all-round cricketer, perhaps, that the world has seen—is in itself enough to give interest to such a volume. Dr. Grace himself contributes three chapters, which embody his long experience and skill. They are entitled, "Cricket, and how to Excel in it"; "The Cricket Bat: how to Make it, Choose it, and Keep it"; "Cricket Clubs: their Formation and Management." These chapters are as workmanlike as their author's performances with bat and ball. Well arranged and clearly expressed, they will help many a young aspirant for fame to win his laurels. Mr. Pycroft pleasantly compares the old methods of playing cricket with the new, and gives practical hints on catching,

throwing, stopping, making runs, and batting. One chapter is devoted to the laws of cricket as last revised by the M.C.C.; another to the second tour of the Australian cricketers in this country in 1880. The visits of English cricketers to Canada and Australia are described in detail. County cricket, cricket averages, cricket homilies, cricket pioneers, cricket songs, each have their chapter—brought well up to the present moment. Lord Charles J. F. Russell's "Glances at Cricket: Past, Present, and Future" must not be overlooked for its one or two pleasant reminiscences. Portraits of distinguished cricketers add much to the interest of the volume.

3. *Football* is treated with equal thoroughness. The introduction deals with objections that the game is sometimes played roughly, and is dangerous, in a sensible style which will commend the manual to all fair players. We hope that it may not fail to impress those who are in danger of losing temper or self-restraint in the excitement of the sport. Shrove Tuesday used to be—as it still is, if we mistake not, in some parts of the country—the Football Carnival. The uproar was a safety valve before Lent. The Derby record goes back more than fifteen hundred years. In 217 the Romans defeated the Britons at Little Chester. An annual game of football was established to commemorate this victory. So early as 1365 Edward III. thought that it might be advantageously replaced by archery. But despite the enmity of kings the game kept its hold on the people. The laws of the game, as played by the Rugby Union, are followed by a chapter of nearly eighty pages, in which Dr. Irvine, the Ex-Scottish Champion, describes in detail all the arts of the game, with hints as to health, diet, &c. Mr. Alcock, Honorary Secretary of the Football Association, does similar service for Association Football, which "A Referee" follows up by careful "Foot Notes." Football Songs have a chapter to themselves. In each of the manuals there is a page of "Notabilia" for players, culled from eminent Christian writers. We heartily congratulate the Religious Tract Society on such a series. Some critics may shake their heads when they find that these manuals are being issued by the great Tract Society, but the boys and their parents will feel thankful for books which link sport and religion happily together, and teach the young athlete that he must above all things, and in all things, be a Christian gentleman.

4. *The Glory of the Sea* is a conchological story, which, on a thread of pleasant narrative, strings together still more pleasant facts about shells and their inhabitants. An old lady bequeaths her precious collection of shells to an invalid girl. This young lady is to know nothing of the terms of the will, but her poor father who is in the secret passes some anxious years. If he had not been a clergyman, we should have said that his reticence was utterly impossible. According to the terms of the bequest his daughter is to have only five hundred pounds if she sells the shells or fails to add twenty new specimens to the collection; if she learns to love the cabinets, and proves this by adding to the store, she is to inherit all the old lady's fortune. We are not inclined to

quarrel with the plot, improbable though it is. Luke Thorne, the pupil and curate of the young lady's father, inspires her with a love for the shells, and many delightful hours are spent together in studies and sea-shore rambles. After their studies in conchology have brought them happily together, Luke becomes her accepted lover. Thus they share the fortune of twenty thousand pounds. The facts about shells are told in a way to attract young and old. The title is borrowed from the *Gloria Maris*, the gem of the collection.

5. The latest facts about exploration on the Congo, with the most reliable descriptions of the people and the country, are here compressed into 126 pages. The book is thorough and most entertaining. Some good pictures add greatly to the attractions of a pleasant little volume.

Introductory Textbook of Physical Geography. By the late
DAVID PAGE, LL.D., F.G.S. Revised and Enlarged by
CHARLES LAPWORTH, LL.D., F.G.S. London and Edin-
burgh : Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

The fact that this well-known schoolbook has now reached its twelfth edition speaks more for its recognized worth than any critique of ours can do. The editor has brought all its scientific information up to date by careful revision and correction throughout. Geology, petrology, meteorology, climatology, and the distribution of plants and animals have received special attention. It is well arranged, clear in style—all, in fact, that such a textbook should be. Advanced classes and home students will find it invaluable. The recapitulation at the end of each chapter is excellent. The book would be much improved by some little variety of type to set out the headings of the sections and mark prominent points. That could easily be arranged in another edition, and teachers would be grateful for such a help.

The Welsh Language of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.
By IVOR JAMES, Registrar of the University College of South
Wales and Monmouthshire. Cardiff : Owen. 1887.

This pamphlet of fifty pages is crowded with proofs of careful research into the decay and revival of the Welsh language. By a minute study of that language and of books published in the Principality, the author brings out some interesting results. Between 1547 and 1651 Welsh was neglected by nearly all who pretended to culture. In Salesbury's Welsh Dictionary, published in 1547, there are about 1200 words bearing the marks of more or less recent introduction direct from English. The *Eisteddfod*, "the outward and visible sign of Welsh nationality," had passed away before the middle of the seventeenth century, and when the Civil War produced a fruitful crop of appeals to the Welsh people they were written, not in the native tongue, but in

English. The inference is that the great body of the people had acquired a competent knowledge of English, which was thus an efficient medium of communication between the countries. Welsh itself had to a very great extent died out of both use and memory. The civil wars changed all this. The Norman castles in Wales, which had been centres of English life, and had spread the language among the common people, were destroyed. The estates of the Welsh gentry passed into other hands. Welsh youths were no longer sent in large numbers to the English schools and universities. Culture decayed; Welshmen ceased to earn promotion to high offices in Church and State. Thus the English language decayed in the Principality. Mr. James deserves the hearty thanks of all students of language and of national life for his interesting researches.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Father Fervent.* By JOHN M. BAMFORD.
2. *Jennie and her Charges; or, True and False Equality.*
By ANNIE RYLANDS.
3. *A-Fa; or, The Story of a Slave Girl in China.* By
RODERICK MACDONALD, M.D., Mission Hospital, Fatshan.
4. *Our Lovefeast: Testimonies to Christ's full Salvation.*
Edited by JOHN BRASH.
5. *Stories about the Early Christians.* By ANNIE FRANCES
PERRAM.
6. *A Posy of Pinks and other Stories.* By MARGARET
HAYCRAFT. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

1. Mr. Bamford's new book is worthy of his reputation as a moralist, who teaches "truth embodied in a tale." The moral is not overdone. The thread of incident holds the reader, whilst the dialogue is racy throughout. Such books will help to quicken the energies of many a flagging worker in the Church. *Father Fervent* himself is a well-drawn character. His counsel to the Rev. Daniel Duty, to set the plan on fire forms a capital chapter. Such books are made to be read rather than reviewed. We have enjoyed Mr. Bamford's story so much ourselves that we are glad to introduce it to our readers.

2. *Jennie and her Charges* paints the home life of a struggling labourer's home with no little skill. One of the daughters who goes out to service is the happy means of winning help for the family in their poverty. All young people will enjoy this tale. It would also make a good gift-book for servants.

3. Dr. Macdonald has a simple story to tell without much incident, but the touches with which he finishes his picture make this a delightful sketch of

life in China. The parents of the little girl, who were reduced to poverty by the inundation, sold her in order to rebuild their home. Her sufferings and her happy faith are chronicled here with a loving hand. Young workers for missions will see from A-fa's history what blessed work is being done at Fatsan.

4. The testimonies which are grouped together under the title *Our Love-feast* are selected from the *King's Highway*, in which they have appeared during the last fifteen years. They have come from ministers and laymen, merchants and artisans. They are marked by simplicity, freshness, and earnestness. We heartily recommend the little volume to all who are seeking to grow in grace.

5. Miss Perram's *Stories about the Early Christians* are brief and somewhat hackneyed. But the book gives in concise form some glimpses of famous martyrs and Church workers which should stimulate young readers.

6. *A Posy of Pinks* is a cluster of pretty little stories, which will be eagerly welcomed by children.

Days of Blessing in Inland China. Being an Account of Meetings held in the Province of Shan-Si, &c. With an Introduction by J. HUDSON TAYLOR. London: Morgan & Scott. 1887.

This neatly bound volume is enriched by a map and some excellent pictures. It contains notes of the addresses given by Mr. Hudson and his co-workers at various conferences or conventions held in the vast empire to which the Chinese Inland Mission has devoted its great resources of Christian energy and zeal. The entire submission to the will of God, and the perfect peace which breathes in the experiences here recorded, make this book a means of grace to the reader. Some will be inclined to think that Mr. Taylor carries his doctrine of passive endurance of persecution somewhat too far, but the failing leans to virtue's side. Pleasant glimpses of the work and workers of the Mission are caught in the addresses. Still more interesting is the testimony of Chinese converts. Four of these converts who related their conversion at the Hung-Fung conference were brought to Christ by the Rev. David Hill; the other three were won by Hsi, one of Mr. Hill's converts. We should like the touching story of Hsi's conversion told in every missionary meeting. There are some points where we differ from Mr. Hudson Taylor, but these do not detract from the value of the narrative. The account of the effect produced on his mind by the thought that the Lord Jesus might come at any time is one of the passages open to criticism. "I had not a great many books, but it sent me to see if I could give a good account of *all* I had, and also of the contents of my little wardrobe. The result was that some of my books disappeared before very long, and some of the clothes too. It was an immense spiritual blessing to me." We hope that this cheering and helpful volume will have a large circulation.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August 15).—M. du Camp has found a congenial subject in a series of articles entitled "Jewish Beneficence in Paris," of which the first is published in this number. A hundred years ago, he says, the number of Jews in Paris was limited to eight hundred, who were placed under jealous police supervision, and forbidden to engage in certain professions. In August 1774 they were excluded from the guild of arts and trades; in the following July, from the business of drapers and mercers. Every form of insult was heaped upon them by the Governments of that day. Samuel Bernard, indeed, rose to a high position, but this he accomplished by concealing his Jewish origin. The laws did not recognize the rights of the Jews; society offered them no security; justice gave them no succour. The French Revolution changed this state of affairs. Having decreed the equality of men, its leaders were bound to accord the rights of citizens to Jews. The natural result followed. Jewish families flocked to Paris. In 1806 there were 2700; in 1821, more than 6000. To-day, with a population of two millions and a half, the French capital has about 45,000 Jews. Two-thirds of the Jewish population of France is settled in Paris. The Israelitish community organized itself slowly. It was divided, as it still is, into two classes—the great barons of finance, and the old-clothes fraternity, with the artists' models and such like. Albert Kohn, who was born at Presburg in 1814, had the honour of organizing the Jewish charities of Paris. He was a linguist of rare gifts. Baron de Hammer, whose History of the Ottoman Empire made him famous, once heard the young Jew comment on an obscure passage of the Koran. "Quit Vienna," he urged, "where you can only vegetate, and go to Paris, where all doors are open to you." He reached that city in 1836. There he soon became "a missionary of charity." He undertook four journeys to the East to relieve the sufferers from cholera; three times he visited his co-religionists in Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. His position in the house of Rothschild made him the almoner of those Jewish princes. By their generosity he was able to institute a kind of public assistance for poor Jews. He repulsed none save professional mendicants. Above all, he interested himself in the charitable foundation which bears the name of Rothschild. It comprises a home for sick people and sick children, a retreat for the old, and a home for the incurable. "A city of hospitality opened by Israel rich for Israel poor, infirm and broken with age."

REVUE HISTORIQUE (May-June).—Maurice Wahl contributes a paper on "The French Revolution in Lyons—Joseph Chalier." The great population of Lyons, its proximity to the frontier, the industrial crisis through which it was then passing, the attachment of the citizens to their traditions, and the hostility which the most influential party in the city felt to the revolutionary spirit drew the attention and aroused the hopes of the friends of order. After four years of intrigue and agitation, Lyons took arms against the Convention. The city endured a terrible siege, and paid bitterly for its revolt and opposition. Joseph Chalier took an active part in events previous to the siege. He was elected to the highest dignities; then the tide turned against him, and he was put to death by the dominant party. His memory has shared the same vicissitudes. In 1793 he enjoyed the honours of an apotheosis; his housekeeper received a pension equal to that conferred on the widow of Rousseau; his bust was placed in the Pantheon. Then a reaction set in. His effigy was dragged through the streets, and burned in one of the public squares. Some attempts have since been made to rehabilitate him, but he has in the main been judged on the testimony of his enemies, and treated with a blind or passionate severity. M. Wahl has undertaken a study of contemporary documents which he thinks will produce a more favourable impression. Chalier was born at Beaulard in the Haut-Dauphiné in 1747. At the age of fifteen he came to Lyons to push his fortune. After some years spent in teaching and study, he entered into business with a citizen whose children he had trained. He was thus led to visit Constantinople, the Levant, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The oppression under

which the people of these countries suffered deeply moved him. Governments began to look upon him with suspicion as a friend of reform. He was ordered to quit both Lisbon and Sicily. The French Revolution electrified him. He rushed to Paris, became a friend of Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Robespierre. He carried about with him a fragment of stone from the wreck of the Bastille, and a piece of the coat of Mirabeau, which every man or woman whom he met he compelled to kiss. On his return he was elected to one of the municipal offices. Excess of zeal brought him into considerable ill-favour. He appealed to the Assembly in Paris, which became his champion, and sent him back with honour to his functions. The eight months which he spent in Paris amid the scenes of the Revolution produced a profound impression upon him. He was soon afterwards elected president of the district tribunal. In the midst of the perils which every day menaced the country, Chaliar was unable to preserve the calm dignity of a high magistrate. He was the most vehement orator of the Central Club, which represented the revolutionary party of the city. It was composed of three delegates from each of the popular clubs, which in January 1791 had numbered 3000 members. Most of Chaliar's speeches were delivered before this Central Club. The artisans of Lyons loved him as the man who resented their wrongs and showed himself their constant friend. Lyons now became the prey of hostile factions. The Jacobins had the worst of these struggles. They succeeded in the spring of 1793 in securing the election of Bertrand, a friend and associate of Chaliar's, as mayor of the city. But this victory was no proof of their real position in Lyons. A struggle broke out on May 29, in which the Jacobins were completely defeated. Next day Chaliar was arrested. On the 15th of July he appeared before the tribunal. Whenever the prisoner attempted to speak, groans and hisses drowned his voice. It was with the greatest difficulty that his advocate gained a hearing. He allowed that Chaliar was an enthusiast, but showed that he was sincere, and recalled his life of probity and devotion. It was all in vain. Chaliar was condemned and guillotined. "It is impossible," says M. Wahl, "to do justice to his virtues, his probity, his disinterestedness, his courage, his patriotism. He had a poor understanding, but a great heart."

UNSERE ZEIT (July).—Ludwig Koelle writes on "The First Years of Queen Victoria's Reign." The article is to be continued in a later number of the Review. He deals pleasantly with "the bed-chamber question" and "Chartism." The article is based on McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, Greville's *Journals of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, Green's *History of the English People*, vol. iii., and Valentine's *The Queen: her Early Life and Reign*. Heinrich Martens discusses "The Latest Political Change in Denmark" in a valuable paper. In two previous articles he had dwelt upon the origin and development of the recent constitutional struggles in that country. The conflict has at last reached a decisive stage. It may reasonably be expected that a more settled state of things will follow. The disputes were caused partly by the endeavours of the democracy to make the Folkething—or popular chamber of the Imperial Diet—into an effective power in the State; partly by the endeavours of the Minister Estrup to carry his Chauvinistic plans. The irreconcilables of both parties seem to have lost touch with the people, who are determined to bring the disputes to a speedy end. The chief apple of discord has been the Copenhagen fortifications. One party fights for the strengthening of the sea defences, the other for the land defences. After fifteen years of agitation the elections of last January turned on this question. 143,000 voted against the fortifications, 87,000 (half of whom resided in Copenhagen and the vicinity) for the Government policy. The Opposition dare not give way in this matter. The enormous expenditure on works which some of the first military authorities describe as worse than useless cannot be justified to constituencies that are suffering heavily from commercial distress.

(August).—The second part of Herr Koelle's paper on the Queen's Jubilee deals with the Opium War. The article is interesting, but is simply an epitome of facts well known to readers of Justin McCarthy. Dr. Henfelder, of St. Petersburg, discusses the question of "Medical Studies for Women" in that city. A special course was instituted for women in 1872, which has been in operation for fifteen years. In the first year sixty students entered, of whom three-fourths received a medical diploma after a five years' course. In 1880 there were 500 women studying medicine. For some the

studies were only a pretext for coming to the capital to pursue political aims; others sought to prepare themselves to earn an honest livelihood, whilst a few desired thus to help forward the emancipation of women. Good organization and strict examinations, however, weeded out those who had not come to do real work. Treatment, at once fatherly and firm, gradually reduced the undisciplined company to order. It is satisfactory to learn that out of a thousand students who have passed through the schools, only a few have brought themselves under discipline. A few fell into the hands of justice on account of political matters, but there has been no great scandal—no suicide, no tumult, no unruly demonstration. A little more than half those who entered have finished the course. A brief description of the subjects included in the syllabus is given. The progress of the students has not been altogether satisfactory. They have not been able to bear the strain of the work, and have failed to do themselves justice in examinations because of their nervous excitement. Dr. Henfelder points out that Russia offers a splendid field for female doctors among her Mohammedan subjects, where women and children can only be seen by a lady. The female doctors have not, however, ventured into these regions. In the beginning of this year there were 18,009 doctors practising in Russia, of whom 550 were women. Of the latter the largest number were settled in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Some were in Government cities; only a few in the country, none had ventured into the distant provinces of the empire.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (July).—Ignatius Donnelly contributes two strange articles on "The Shakespeare Myth," of which the second appears this month. He professes to have discovered a cipher which proves that Francis Bacon wrote the plays. One paragraph is so characteristic that we may quote it:—"I cannot at this time give the rule of the cipher; I hope to have my book in the hands of the printer in two or three months, and satisfy fully the expectation of the world; but I can give enough, I trust, to convince any one, not absolutely steeped to the lips in ignorance and prejudice, that the composition is artificial and not natural; that it is gnarled, compressed, condensed, with its weight of compact thought; and that it is twisted to conform to the requirements of a mathematical cipher." The bad taste of this paragraph is evident enough. Mr. Donnelly actually presumes to say in reference to one couplet: "This may perhaps sound natural enough to the reader, but I, who know how almost every word has been forced in to make up part of a cipher sentence, can see the lines of the mortar in the awkward masonry." If he is right, the plays are not worth discussion. That the works of our great English classic should be the mere jumble of a cipher-maker is an insult to the intelligence of all generations. Mr. Donnelly whitewashes Bacon and bespatters Shakespeare with all the zeal of an Old Bailey barrister. "I cannot see where national feeling," he writes, "has any place in the discussion. Conceding for the moment all that has been said against him, and Francis Bacon, the scholar, statesman, philanthropist, and founder of the school of philosophy which has done so much to produce our modern advancement and civilization, is certainly a nobler and more admirable figure on the canvas of time than the guzzling, beer-drinking, poaching, lying play-actor, of whom tradition does not record a single generous expression or a single lovable act. And as to Francis Bacon's real biography, it is yet to be written, when all the materials furnished by the cipher narrative are in the hands of the world. We know enough now to see that he was sacrificed by James I., that vile, slobbering 'sow,' as Buckingham called him, to save his favourite from the fury of the Commons, and to appease the rising tempest which eventually swept the royal family from the throne, and the head of Charles I. from his shoulders."

NEW PRINCETON REVIEW (July).—S. G. W. Benjamin writes on "American Art since the Centennial." He holds that American Art is really in the "most healthy condition it has yet reached, because it has at last entered upon a logical path, loyal to the laws that, like free agency, aid while they seem to restrict true development." The improvement dates from 1865, when Art made a start towards producing a national school. This tendency was accelerated by the Centennial. One of the factors in this development was the establishment of the Massachusetts Normal Art School under the direction of the late Mr. Walter Smith, who was invited from England to form an institution like our South Kensington. This step aroused great opposition and wide discussion. What is described as Mr. Smith's "aggressive and

uncompromising attitude" aroused a personal feeling which led to his return to England. Mr. Benjamin, who was not mixed up in these Boston broils, holds that Mr. Smith was excellently fitted to initiate the system of art education in Massachusetts, and was largely instrumental in furthering a cause which might have failed in less resolute hands. The founding of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum of New York also rendered great service. Other cities followed the noble example set at Boston and New York. The removal of American art students from Düsseldorf and Rome to Munich and Paris was another important step. *Scribner's Monthly* and the *Century* have had no small influence in stimulating Art by the profuse illustrations which have opened the door to many a rising artist. The Centennial Exhibition in 1876 awoke the people to a sense of their backward condition. Since then there has been substantial progress. The glass-works and potteries of Trenton, New Bedford, and Cincinnati show how rapidly America is achieving excellence in domestic ware. Coloured designs in glass have also developed rapidly. Architecture needs an article to itself. The most marked feature in house-building at present is the "all but universal movement towards decoration." As yet the exterior decoration is more effective than the interior, which lacks repose. There is a display of riches that cloy rather than pleases. Embroidery and metal work have made substantial progress. Mr. Benjamin, in this interesting paper, dwells on other features of the Art progress of the States. Two conditions are necessary, he states, for the development of great schools of native art—a sympathetic response from the public and the increase of patrons.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (July).—The chief place in this number is given to the topic of Christian union. Dr. W. J. Taylor, of Newark, New Jersey, contributes a brief paper on "Union and Co-operation in Foreign Missions," in which he traces the progress made since the subject engaged the attention of the First General Council of the Alliance of Presbyterian Churches, held at Edinburgh in July 1877. Since that time the subject has been regarded with growing interest. Papers have been read at the councils; committees have been formed, both in Europe and America, to discuss the question in all its bearings. A circular letter was issued on July 1, 1885, to the various Boards and Committees of Foreign Missions connected with the Presbyterian Alliance, requesting replies to certain topics which were under consideration. Friendly co-operation between the Foreign Missionary Boards of all the churches represented in the Alliance as to the location and conduct of missions, the importance of one united organization of Presbyterian missions in each field—these and kindred questions were submitted for consideration. Dr. Taylor quotes the replies received. "The logic of events," he says, "is gradually, but surely, compelling the churches towards an organized system of practical co-operation and organic union." The success of the "United Church of Christ in Japan," which we recently described in these Summaries, is referred to as a pleasing token of the growth of the spirit of union and a testimony to its fruits. Dr. Briggs, of New York, writes on "The Barriers to Christian Union." The first barrier is the claim to Divine right of church government, of which the Papacy is the foremost type; the next is subscription to elaborate creeds, as represented by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; the third, the undue insistence on uniformity of worship, which is the sin of the Church of England. These, together with "traditionalism," are the barriers to which Dr. Briggs calls attention in his suggestive and catholic-spirited article.

CENTURY MAGAZINE (July-September).—Dr. Buckley, the editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, follows up his articles on "Faith-healing" with a paper entitled "Christian Science and Mind Cure." Mrs. Eddy, President of the "Massachusetts Metaphysical College," seems to have been the first to employ the phrase "Christian Science." This lady, in January 1866, "gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon." She states that she was suffering from chronic diseases, and was given up by her physicians, who declared that she could not live till noon. She replied that she would be well at that time. She is said to have been healed by the direct and gracious exercise of the Divine power. In 1867 she began to teach "a purely metaphysical system of healing," and in 1876 published her first pamphlet. The same year she organized the Christian Scientist Association, which was followed in 1879 by "a Mind-

healing Church, without creeds, called the Church of Christ." Mrs. Eddy accepted a call to its pastorate in 1881, and was ordained. Her college is so flourishing that she has been compelled to announce that she takes no patients, and has no time for medical consultation. It is a lucrative profession for Mrs. Eddy. The charge for a three weeks' term is three hundred dollars. For six lectures in the normal class students pay two hundred dollars. Altogether the fees amount to eight hundred dollars. Sixty-six women and twenty-nine men are advertised as qualified practitioners. Mrs. Eddy is not without rivals who are more modest in their charges but she seems to hold her own ground. The lady uses strong language as to Dr. Arens, one of her old pupils who has ventured to cross her path. "He committed to memory many paragraphs from my works, and is in the habit of repeating them in his attempts to lecture. He, who now proclaims himself a professor in the solemn department that he assumes as a jay in borrowed plumes, was the most ignorant and empty-minded scholar I ever remember examining." This illiterate man has, however, acquired a considerable reputation. He has established a university at Boston, which confers the degrees "F.D.," "Defender of the Faith," and "S.S.D.," "Doctor of the Science of Spirit." Abundant illustrations are given in Dr. Buckley's article of the style of argument, the principles, and the technical language of these "Mind Curers." The whole article forms an impressive warning to those who are tempted to dabble in this pernicious art. The extracts from Mrs. Eddy's rules for practice are startling. "When there were fewer doctors, and less thought was given to sanitary subjects, there were better constitutions and less disease." Diet and exercise are of no importance; bathing and rubbing are useless. Perhaps the climax of absurdity is reached in the following extract:—"Suppose the patient should appear to grow worse. This I term chemicalization. It is the upheaval produced when Immortal Truth is destroying erroneous and mortal belief. Chemicalization brings sin and sickness to the surface as in a fermenting fluid, allowing impurities to pass. Patients unfamiliar with the cause of this commotion, and ignorant that it is a favourable omen, may be alarmed. If such is the case, explain to them the law of this action." Dr. Buckley deserves the gratitude of all the churches for his timely articles. Brander Matthews' paper on "The Songs of the War" is the freshest article in the August number. Copies are given of the original drafts of some of these battle songs. "My Maryland" and "John Brown's Body" were the most popular. The first was written by Mr. James R. Randall, then a teacher in a Louisiana college, who had been deeply stirred by news of an attack on the Massachusetts troops as they passed through his native city, Baltimore. A young lady wedded the words to the tune "Lauriger Horatius," then popular among the Yale students. Particulars are given as to the origin of Mrs. Howe's spirited "Battle-hymn of the Republic," Mr. Gibbons' "Three Hundred Thousand More," and other songs. We hope that the article may lead to correspondence on this fruitful and most interesting theme.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (July, August, September).—The August number has a short paper on "The Irish Party," by Edward Brown, accompanied with photographs of its leading members. Some interesting particulars are given. T. P. O'Connor's history is a wonderful record of poverty and struggle. He was born in Athlone in 1848, and graduated at Queen's College, Galway, when eighteen. After three years' service as reporter for a Dublin newspaper, he came to London with five pounds in his pocket. He could find no employment, and when his money was exhausted he was driven almost to despair. He allowed himself twopence for breakfast, and then had to take what he could get. At last his knowledge of French and German gained him a place as sub-editor on the *Daily Telegraph* during the time of the Franco-German War. He afterwards became assistant to the London editor of the *New York Herald*, but changes in that office threw him out of employment. For the next two or three years he was familiar with every sorrow of the literary hack. Then he was appointed sub-editor of the *Echo*, a post which ill-health at last compelled him to resign. His Life of Lord Beaconsfield made him known. He worked on it for four years and a-half, at the rate of sixteen or seventeen hours per day. So abject was his poverty "that nearly the whole of the MS. was written on the back of Alcock's Porous Plaster bills given to him by a friendly chemist."

SCRIBNER (July to September).—This magazine is improving every month. It is already the brightest and freshest of the American monthlies. The Thackeray letters abound in characteristic touches. Writing from Paris in 1850, the novelist says: "At dinner at Goudin's there was a great stupid company, and I sat between one of the stupidest and handsomest women I ever saw in my life and a lady to whom I made three observations, which she answered with 'Oui, monsieur,' and 'Non, monsieur,' and then commenced a conversation over my back with my handsome neighbour. 'If this is French manners,' says I, 'civility be hanged,' and so I ate my dinner, and did not say one word more to that woman." In a later letter he says: "I had a delightful morning with her [his daughter Annie] on Sunday, when she read me the *Deserted Village*, and we talked about it. I couldn't have talked with her so with anybody else, except perhaps you, in the room." The first of the letters in the August number gives a touching sketch of the burial of H. F. Hallam, the younger brother of Tennyson's friend who is immortalized in *In Memoriam*. The church, Thackeray says, "looked very tranquil and well ordained, and I had half an hour there before the procession came in view. Those ceremonies over a corpse—the immortal soul of a man being in the keeping of God, and beyond the reach of all undertakers—always appear to me shocking rather than solemn, and the horses and plumes give me pain. The awful moment was when the dear old father—the coffin being lowered into the vault where so much of his affection and tenderest love lies buried—went down into the cave and gave the coffin a last kiss; there was no standing that last most affecting touch of nature." A pleasant peep of him is given, in another letter, repeating the multiplication table to a waiter at the opposite end of Willis's Rooms, where he was to deliver a course of lectures. Then he describes "a Chinese with a face like a pantomime mask and shoes, who went up and kissed the Duke of Wellington, much to the old boy's surprise," at the opening of the great Exhibition. It is somewhat strange to find the Rector of St. George's Church in New York, describing his "Camping and Shooting in the Shoshoné." Dr. Rainsford is an enthusiastic hunter. For nearly twenty years his holidays have been spent in the Rocky Mountains, where he has had some hairbreadth escapes in his pursuit of sheep and grizzlies. The paper is exciting and instructive. "The Modern Nile" is a capital sketch of scenery and customs, which may be compared with the article in the *Cornhill Magazine* for September, on "The Way to Eleusis." Fleas and dogs are the only drawback to the historic charm of such a ramble in the beautiful country round Athens.

SR. NICHOLAS (July to September).—Frank R. Stockton's series of papers entitled "In English Country" should not be overlooked. The July article gives some pleasant glimpses of the county of Bucks, with John Hampden's estate and Lord Beaconsfield's mansion. Mr. Rideing's brief paper on "The Boyhood of Oliver Wendell Holmes" is a pleasant feature of the August number, though it is somewhat "slight." Still more interesting is his September article on W. D. Howells, the novelist.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE (July to September).—Colonel Dodge's hints on "Driving" are excellent. The magazine is full of racy reading.

